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FREEDOM *through Anarchism*

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HORRORS OF THE P



WITH the end of 1945 it is time to take stock, and consider the larger issues involved in the transition from war to peace from the standpoint of workers. First, the nearest home, so to speak, is the question of wages. Just as the war provided employment in a way that the peacetime years had wholly failed to do, so the prospect of unemployment once again returns with the peace. And whereas the labour shortage which existed under war economy caused wages to go up, whether from an increase in working time, through overtime, or more rarely, from an increase in wage rates, so the slackened demand for labour now means loss of overtime and so reduced total wages; or the peacetime increase in the cost of living offsets even further any wartime gains as to rates of pay; or frank unemployment threatens the workers' economic position. Thus a direct result of peace has been increased industrial unrest expressed through the major strikes in the past few months. But now some of the factors in the wage struggle are becoming more obvious. During the war, employers needed workers, and strikes were a serious threat to them; so they represented strikes as unpatriotic and war-work as a necessity of the community which must not be interfered with. Now that such moral blackmail no longer applies, the lessened demand for labour also makes strikes less of a threat to employers, and therefore less powerful weapons in the hands of the workers. Thus the end of the war, considered from a purely economic angle, provides ground for disillusionment. And this feeling is still further enhanced by the continued behaviour of the Trade Union

Neither of these promises has been even approximately fulfilled. Every liberated country has felt a worsening of the food situation since the Allied liberation. Everywhere repressive laws are still in existence, "freedom" quite illusory. And the plight of the defeated countries is such as to invite unfavourable comparisons by their peoples between the Nazis and the new "freedom-loving" rulers, which are hardly conducive to feelings of optimism or hope about the future, but rather tend to deepen the apathy which helped the original imposition of totalitarian rule.

The Propaganda Trials

Animosity towards Fascist leaders is natural. But the trials of war criminals conducted by the Allies have done much to create sympathy with these people. Particularly the trials of Pétain and Laval in France, where ex-Vichy judges and prosecutors thundered against the former masters, providing an odious display of capitalist "justice". Many people in the country have been shocked at the State's evident determination to secure a conviction against such minor figures as Joyce Kilmer and Amery, evinced by their having to fall back on the 600 year old Treason Act of 1351. Many who formerly retained some respect for the law will have been disillusioned by the vindictive propaganda exhibitions, these reaching concessions on the part of the State to what they believe to be the popular demand for scapegoats—scapegoats, however, who conveniently distract attention from people whose responsibility for producing the war is far heavier.

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THE BIG THREE MEETING

The Big Three have met once again. This time Russia's suggestion has been followed and they have met in Moscow. Didn't Mr. Molotov say at the conference last September that everything was going wrong due, partly at least, to the London atmosphere which was not suited to really serious conferences. And then, the presence of the not-so-big-Big-Two annoyed considerably the Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

But, what has not changed is the conspiratorial atmosphere which surrounds all international meetings, particularly since we have entered the era of atomic democracy. All that the Press has been allowed to publish on the Moscow gathering strangely resembled health bulletins. One day it was revealed that "The talks are proceeding positively rather than negatively" and the next day it was triumphantly announced that "they are going on well". Recent history shows how much one should rely on health bulletins. The day before Patton died it was announced that the general's condition was "excellent".

The only possible explanation for the silence which surrounded the meeting is that Messrs. Byrnes, and Molotov thought that it would be embarrassing if the public came to know the background of the revolts in Iran, how the Chinese question was settled, the bargainings over Germany and their real feelings about the Circus of the United Nations which began its work in London on the 10th January.

The problem of Iran is becoming increasingly more complex. Only fellow-travellers or morons can have believed that the autonomist movement in Azerbaidjan was a popular revolt against a government with fascist leanings. The gentlemen of Teheran are no democrats of course, no more than King Ibn Saud of Arabia, the

desire for expansion of our Soviet Ally. Truman therefore prefers to allow several thousand Jews to enter America and pacify in that manner liberal electors and the Jewish minority which represents several million votes in the United States.

While at the Moscow Conference the American Government have not modified their position regarding the atomic bomb they have, nevertheless, made a few concessions to Stalin. Thus Tito has been recognised in London and Washington. But it looks as if the latest Kremlin demands will meet with fierce opposition. These demands which we have mentioned before, menace not only Turkey but the whole structure carefully worked out by Britain in the Near and Middle East.

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A Year Of Political Disillusion

But 1945 was also a year of profound disillusionment from the political point of view. It began amid the repression of Greek workers by British units under General Scobie. That conflict was brought to an end by agreements between the E.A.M. leaders, the Greek Right and the British authorities, whereby no reprisals were to be exacted and an amnesty for all prisoners of the civil war to be effected. On such assurances the Greek workers allowed themselves to be disarmed. But in fact full amnesty has never been granted, thousands remaining in prison even now. And the time has been used by the Greek Government to institute police measures to prevent any further demonstrations of popular resentment. Bevin, who specifically defended the Churchill cabinet's policy in Athens, has shown no concern to see that the conditions of last January's truce are put into force.

Similarly, many who saw in the Labour Party's access to power a hope of a less reactionary turn in foreign policy have been disillusioned by the failure to change the Conservative government's attitude to General Franco. The shameful treatment meted out to Spanish anti-Fascist refugees, held as prisoners of war at Chorley, Lancs., provides another spectacle ill-calculated to inspire hope for the future in consequence of "victory". And now there are Indonesia and Indo-China as well.

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The moral corruption in our society which the unfulfilled promises of the war has brought to the notice of even the politically naive, appears in scientists who, like Pontius Pilate, wash their hands of the responsibilities which the atom bomb lays upon its producers. How feeble, how unconvincing is all this talk about "controlling" the potentialities of atomic energy! Throughout the ages of history, the potential good which advances in knowledge have placed in men's hands, has almost always been vitiated by their actual use in the service of the ruling groups in society. And so will be with the atom bomb. Fears about the future will not be allayed by pious resolutions and political shifts. Treaties about atom bombs are not likely to be given any more respectful attention than the other scraps of

The Persecution Of Philip Sanson for Refus

Our comrade Philip Sanson, who was recently released from Wormwood Scrubs after serving a sentence of 9 months on a charge of disaffection, is still the object of official persecution. On the very day before he was to be released from prison, he was served with a notice to attend for medical examination for the Army at 9 o'clock next morning—that is an hour after his release! Sanson refused to attend and the Freedom Defence Committee wrote to the Minister of Labour pointing out the absurdity of sending a man to prison for alleged attempts to disaffect the Forces, and then seek to call him up for service in those Forces! The Ministry of Labour sent an unsatisfactory answer, and the Labour Exchange, without bothering even to serve another notice, summoned Sanson to

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Middle East problems which have, during the last few months occupied such a prominent place, are so intimately inter-linked that it is difficult to separate them. While Russia is trying to acquire new sources of petrol England and America struggle to preserve theirs. It is possible to say to-day with a degree of certainty that nothing will be done to allow European Jews to settle in Palestine. Let us leave on one side the question of principle. On both sides of the Atlantic many tears have been shed over the "unfortunate survivors of Hitler's massacre". These are merely crocodile tears. The U.S. Congress has passed resolutions asking Truman to obtain from Atlee a promise that Jews should be allowed to enter the Holy Land. Truman will do nothing of the kind. He knows that the Standard Oil of California and the Standard Oil of Texas have received important concessions from Ibn-Saud. Truman "knows" that thanks to these concessions this blood-thirsty, medieval, autocratic king of Arabia has become "a good democrat and a good ally". He knows too that if he upsets him America may lose fuel bases in a part of the world which is strategically of primary importance particularly in view of the

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An Open Letter to Ignazio Silone on his visit to England as a guest of Labour Party

COMRADE,

We welcome to England the author of *Bread and Wine* and *The School for Dictators*. We welcome the indefatigable enemy of Italian Fascism, and the equally strong denouncer of the "Red fascism" of the Kremlin. We welcome the man who once asked the pertinent question, "Is it possible to take part in political life, to devote oneself to the service of a party and remain sincere?" But we are not so enthusiastic about the arrival of the picked representative of the Italian Socialist Party.

We should be glad to see Ignazio Silone come as the guest of the British writers. We cannot regard with anything but unhappiness his arrival as the guest of the reactionary Labour Party.

In the past, we have viewed with sympathy the progress of your thought from Marxism towards a humanist libertarianism. We were inspired by *Fontamara* and *Bread and Wine*, we regarded *The School for Dictators* as an important part of our social education. We began to think of you as an anarchist in all but name, and hoped that you would return to Italy as a firm and resolute opponent of the game of politics. When the Italian people began to take their affairs into their own hands, when the peasants of your own Marsica began to take the land from the owners for their own use, we anticipated you would be their firm supporter. Instead, we have had the bitter disappointment of seeing you retreat from the criticisms of political activity which you made in your books, and become one of the leaders of that Socialist

Party which helped to divert the aspirations of the Italian workers after the fall of the Fascists into reformist channels, and thus to defeat the Italian revolution. We are relieved that you have at least given up your advocacy of united action with the Communists, but we regret to see you supporting a party which has co-operated with the Anglo-American military authorities, to the detriment of the Italian workers and peasants.

We will not go into all the faults of the government whose party acts as your host in England. These will become evident to you if you retain any of the acuteness of observation which you showed in *The School for Dictators*. We will be content with telling you a few instances of how that government treats Italian workers, and anti-fascist militants of all nationalities who happen to fall into its hands.

In a letter on another page of this paper is given a description of the conditions under which Italian prisoners of war are being repatriated to Italy. This is all one would expect from the poor state in which they have been expected to live and work even after the end of the war with Italy, often being engaged on the most irksome toil in order to earn the very scanty comforts which they have been allowed. Only last week some hundreds of Italians have been drafted into stoking at gas works, a job so arduous that former gas stokers in the army are declining early releases because they do not wish to return to it.

Philip Sansom for Refusi

Our comrade Philip Sansom, who was recently released from Wormwood Scrubs after serving a sentence of 9 months on a charge of disaffection, is still the object of official persecution. On the very day before he was to be released from prison, he was served with a notice to attend for medical examination for the Army, at 9 o'clock next morning—that is an hour after his release! Sansom refused to attend and the Freedom Defence Committee wrote to the Minister of Labour pointing out the absurdity of sending a man to prison for alleged attempts to disaffect the Forces, and then seek to call him up for service in those Forces! The Ministry of Labour sent an unsatisfactory answer, and the Labour Exchange, without bothering even to serve another notice, summoned Sansom to

A number of Italians have recently been sent to English civil prisons. Some who went to Wormwood Scrubs were in a far worse position even than the rest of the prisoners, as they could speak no English, and had very little chance to speak Italian, while there were only five Italian books in the prison library. In this way they were completely isolated within the prison, and nothing was done by the authorities to alleviate their situation. As a result, one of them went insane and was taken away to a lunatic asylum.

Some 225 Spanish anti-fascists, many of whom fought in the French Maquis against the Nazis, have been held for some months as prisoners of war. One committed suicide, one went insane. In spite of a great agitation among the Left, the Labour Minister of War has refused to let them go free, and they are being kept in confinement until they can be sent to France.

We tell you these facts to show how our Labour Government is treating Italian workers and your fellows in the struggle against fascism.

Finally, we would repeat that we still admire your writings and find in them sufficient arguments to justify us in disapproving of your present actions. We send our greetings in a true spirit of friendship, and emphasise that our criticisms are made in regret, not in enmity. May you yet resume your progress towards a true philosophy of freedom.

Fraternally,
The Editors of Freedom.

FREEDOM

through Anarchism

INTERNATIONAL
NEWS BY
CORRESPONDENTS
ON THE SPOT

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TERRORS OF THE PEACE



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paper which have decorated political history.

It is time scientists faced up to their responsibilities in such matters. If they groan at the cruel desolations their ingenuity has inflicted on suffering millions, then let them refuse to lay their brains and their labour at the service of the political power groups which seldom use science to better the lot of the workers, but never hesitate to turn it to their own ends in wars.

And the workers who operate the factories which produce the atom bombs? Shall they stand by and say it is no concern of theirs? If Spanish workers could refuse to build prisons; if the anarchist syndicalist workers at Erfurt in Germany after the last war could go on strike for months, refusing to make munitions, and prefer to see their jobs taken from them by reformist trade unionists rather than give in; if Australian dockers can refuse to load material for use against the Indonesians in the present far-Eastern struggle; if workers have taken these stands in the past, cannot the British and American and Russian workers refuse to be party to the making of atom bombs? If they did so refuse, would they not receive the approval of all those to whom the atom bomb has brought a new menacing shadow?

Disillusionment And The Future

The same antithesis lies at the root of all the disillusion which the war has brought. Everywhere men see resources opened up, new possibilities for the realization of material happiness. And everywhere at the same time they see increasing misery, increasingly sordid results from the sacrifice of human life and idealism. 1945 has underlined this process,



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But as sordid events follow one another it becomes increasingly clear, that it is the class-divided society, the domination of the State over human individuals, which ensures that every advance in knowledge or technique is used for the benefit, not of mankind as a whole, but of the power interest of ruling minorities. This process becomes more and more evident with each meeting of politicians from the powerful States. When it is fully understood, and men act on the knowledge, the fruit of science and the accumulated experience of workers will be placed at the service of society as a whole. If the pain and disillusionment of 1946 have a part in effecting that, they will not have been wholly in vain.

The Persecution Continues Philip Sansom gets 6 months for Refusing Medical

Our comrade Philip Sansom, who was recently released from Wormwood Scrubs after serving a sentence of 9 months on a charge of disaffection, is still the object of official persecution. On the very day before he was to be released from prison, he was served with a notice to attend for medical examination for the Army, at 9 o'clock next morning—that is an hour after his release! Sansom refused to attend and the Freedom Defence Committee wrote to the Minister of Labour pointing out the absurdity of sending a man to prison for alleged attempts to disaffect the Forces, and then seek to call him up for service in those Forces! The Ministry of Labour sent an unsatisfactory answer, and the Labour Exchange, without bothering even to serve another notice, summoned Sansom to

attend in Court.

This alone would be enough to show that an ulterior purpose lay behind this procedure, but a short review of their previous behaviour makes it quite clear. Sansom registered as a Conscientious Objector, but was struck off the register by the local and Appeal Tribunals. The Ministry of Labour, however, did not at that time try to call him up for the Army, but offered him the alternative of N.F.S. work. However, they made no attempt to call him up for this work, and he heard no more until he was arrested on the Disaffection charge in February 1945. Then, whenever it seemed likely that he would get bail, a Special Branch man handed him a notice for Medical Examination. The Labour Exchanges claim that they have nothing to do with the police, but the coincidence in this case is remarkable! When Sansom was not allowed bail, and was remanded in custody at Brixton, no attempt was made to provide him with facilities for attending in Court.

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An Open Letter to Ignazio Silone

on his visit to England as a guest of Labour Party

COMRADE,

We welcome to England the author of *Bread and Wine* and *The School for Dictators*. We welcome the indefatigable enemy of Italian Fascism, and the equally strong denouncer of the "Red fascism" of the Kremlin. We welcome the man who once asked the pertinent question, "Is it possible to take part in political life, to devote oneself to the service of a party and remain sincere?" But we are not so enthusiastic about the arrival of the picked representative of the Italian Socialist Party.

We should be glad to see Ignazio Silone come as the guest of the British writers. We cannot regard with anything but unhappiness his arrival as the guest of the reactionary Labour Party.

In the past, we have viewed with sympathy the progress of your thought from Marxism towards a humanist libertarianism. We were inspired by *Fontamara* and *Bread and Wine*, we regarded *The School for Dictators* as an important part of our social education. We began to think of you as an anarchist in all but name, and hoped that you would return to Italy as a firm and resolute opponent of the game of politics. When the Italian people began to take their affairs into their own hands, when the peasants of your own Marsica began to take the land from the owners for their own use, we anticipated you would be their firm supporter. Instead, we have had the bitter disappointment of seeing you retreat from the criticisms of political activity which you made in your books, and become one of the leaders of that Socialist

Party which helped to divert the aspirations of the Italian workers after the fall of the Fascists into reformist channels, and thus to defeat the Italian revolution. We are relieved that you have at least given up your advocacy of united action with the Communists, but we regret to see you supporting a party which has co-operated with the Anglo-American military authorities, to the detriment of the Italian workers and peasants.

We will not go into all the faults of the government whose party acts as your host in England. These will become evident to you if you retain any of the acuteness of observation which you showed in *The School for Dictators*. We will be content with telling you a few instances of how that government treats Italian workers, and anti-fascist militants of all nationalities who happen to fall into its hands.

In a letter on another page of this paper is given a description of the conditions under which Italian prisoners of war are being repatriated to Italy. This is all one would expect from the poor state in which they have been expected to live and work even after the end of the war with Italy, often being engaged on the most irksome toil in order to earn the very scanty comforts which they have been allowed. Only last week some hundreds of Italians have been drafted into stoking at gas works, a job so arduous that former gas stokers in the army are declining early releases because they do not wish to return to it.

Philip Sansom gets 6 months for Refusing Medical

Our comrade Philip Sansom, who was recently released from Wormwood Scrubs after serving a sentence of 9 months on a charge of disaffection, is still the object of official persecution. On the very day before he was to be released from prison, he was served with a notice to attend for medical examination for the Army, at 9 o'clock next morning—that is an hour after his release! Sansom refused to attend and the Freedom Defence Committee wrote to the Minister of Labour pointing out the absurdity of sending a man to prison for alleged attempts to disaffect the Forces, and then seek to call him up for service in those Forces! The Ministry of Labour sent an unsatisfactory answer, and the Labour Exchange, without bothering even to serve another notice, summoned Sansom to

attend in Court.

This alone would be enough to show that an ulterior purpose lay behind this procedure, but a short review of their previous behaviour makes it quite clear. Sansom registered as a Conscientious Objector, but was struck off the register by the local and Appeal Tribunals. The Ministry of Labour, however, did not at that time try to call him up for the Army, but offered him the alternative of N.F.S. work. However, they made no attempt to call him up for this work, and he heard no more until he was arrested on the Disaffection charge in February 1945. Then, whenever it seemed likely that he would get bail, a Special Branch man handed him a notice for Medical Examination. The Labour Exchanges claim that they have nothing to do with the police, but the coincidence in this case is remarkable! When Sansom was not allowed bail, and was remanded in custody at Brixton, no attempt was made to provide him with facilities for attending the Medical Examinations demanded. When he finally was allowed bail, yet another notice for Medical Examination was handed to him. He wrote pointing to the obvious ulterior purpose in this procedure, made doubly ludicrous by the fact that he had just been committed for trial at the Old Bailey on a charge of attempting to cause Disaffection! No answer was received from the Labour Exchange, and nothing further done till the serving of yet another Medical Notice on the day before his release.

MAGISTRATE REFUSES TO HEAR DEFENCE

At the first Court hearing on January 2nd, Philip Sansom asked for a remand in order to be able to produce certain documents relating to his call-up for the N.F.S., and a week's remand was allowed. At the resumed hearing, however, on January 9th, the Magistrate interrupted Sansom's questioning of the prosecution's witnesses, and when he endeavoured to bring forward the points of defence, shouted and hectoring him. Finally he categorically stated that he did not wish to hear the defence, and made a Court order for him to be taken before a Medical Board.

6 months Sentence

As we go to Press our comrade has made his third appearance in Court and has been given a sentence of six months' imprisonment. The Freedom Defence Committee is taking up the case immediately, and we ask all readers who feel as strongly as we do in the matter to do all they can to assist in the work of giving publicity to the case in their Union branches and among their friends and to securing the immediate release of Philip Sansom.

The address of the Freedom Defence Committee is 17 St. George Street, Hanover Square, London, W.1.

Fraternally,
The Editors of Freedom.



[Freedom Photo]

A. S. NEILL WITH A YOUNG PUPIL

"The true object of education," said William Godwin, "is the generation of happiness." By this criterion, probably the most successful educationist of our time is A. S. Neill whose school, Summerhill, is now twenty-three years old and whose influence upon thousands of parents and teachers has been incalculable. A new book by Neill is always something of an event in educational circles and his latest, "Hearts not Heads in the School," deserves to reach a far wider public. No one who believes in the doctrine of freedom can afford to ignore it.

The central theme of the book, as its title suggests, is that education has gone wrong because it has been concerned with heads and not hearts. Our schools have concentrated on thinking instead of on feeling, which has resulted in the repression of our emotional lives. The buried emotions have become thwarted, dangerous and inimical to society, finding their expres-

HEADS OR HEARTS ? Anarchist

Soviet Education

Of particular interest is a digression on the subject of Russia. To those familiar with Neill's ideas, it had always seemed odd that he had not discovered that Communism is as much opposed to his philosophy as Fascism. Whether he has fully realised it now is debatable but at least his illusions about Soviet education have been finally dispelled.

He has discovered at last the significance of the abolition of co-education, the creation of the colleges for young officers, the re-imposition of strict discipline and the barbarous system of punishment designed to produce completely docile and submissive pupils. One cannot help sympathising with his disappointment: "And so many of us who have looked to Russia to lead the way in politics and education must sigh, and decide to plough our lonely furrows. We have very many things to learn from the Soviet Union, but we have nothing to learn from it in education and a new orientation to creative, spiritual life."

Sexual Freedom

No one has done more than A. S. Neill to eradicate the superstition and ignorance that surround the adult attitude to sexuality in children. His previous books, with almost monotonous regularity, have emphasised the incredible foolishness of moralising about sex and the dangerous stupidity of the masturbation verbot. "Masturbation, however," as an old pupil of Summerhill once put it, "is but the pale shadow of sex," and in this book Neill goes right on to the substance, and for the first time fully commits himself by working out his ideas to their logical conclusion.

While acknowledging his debt to Freud, he has gone forward a long way beyond him and has obviously been considerably influenced by the work of Wilhelm Reich, of whom he says, "Reich is the only man who has given the proletariat a new message about sex. His lead must be followed. The future lies with the masses, not the classes. Progress can only come through them, but the road will be long and hard, and the classes will fight to preserve the sex repression that castrates the workers and makes them ready to be slaves."

Reich has a direct message for teachers. It is clear from his book, "The Function of the Orgasm" (recently reviewed in *Now* by M. L. Berneri) that he considers the repression of the sex life of the child and adolescent by the school and the home to be the direct cause of the submissiveness of the people to authoritarian political rule, and that he sees the only solution in a free sex life for the young. Although unfortunately few teachers are likely to read Reich, a considerable number will read Neill and this

to sex instead of a fear and hate one, the co-educational school will provide facilities for a sex life for children when they are biologically ready for it, but many wars and revolutions and social re-education will intervene before that time comes." Perhaps in an anarchist society? At any rate, to the young teacher or parent who accepts Reich's thesis this is a tremendous challenge, for as Neill says, "Sexual freedom for the young will come, but it will be the day after to-morrow unless youth itself demands its rights."

The Planners

To-day educationalists are largely pre-occupied with planning, the prevailing fashion of our times. The planners are concerned with the superficial, with such things as the classification of schools and curriculum, and do not begin to touch the fundamental. The general idea seems to be to give more education to more people without any regard to the nature of education itself, but as Neill says: "Education is much wider than school subjects. Our plans must be founded on the fact that the emotion is of greater moment than the intellect, that the unconscious of a child is infinitely greater than his conscious. Our planning, therefore, should forget all about school subjects and timetables, and ask only one big question: What can we do to make people happier and more efficient in work, more balanced in character, more satisfied in emotional life?"

This book goes a long way towards answering that question, and if for that reason alone it is worth far more than any of the plans concocted at Westminster or anywhere else. As I see it, the publication of this book is of far greater significance educationally than the vociferously acclaimed Education Act. Says Neill: "I have no illusions about my own name; in fifty years it will be unknown." On the contrary, I prophesy that long after the names of Mr. Butler and Miss Wilkinson will have passed into the oblivion they deserve, the name that will be remembered by educationists of the future will be that of A. S. Neill.

TOM EARLEY.

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27 Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

The Homes For Heroes (1946 Pattern)

It has been revealed that during 1945 London County Council's housing programme did not result in the completion of a single permanent house. Some 900 houses have been started, but as a total of 441 men were employed on them in the middle of December it does not seem likely that they will be ready for some time. This is a remarkable start for a force of 16,000 houses being under way within a year after the end of the war.

Meanwhile the pre-fabricated houses do not seem to be all that was claimed. A *New Chronicle* reporter visited some asbestos dwellings in Clapham, and, besides the usual blarney, came back with a long list of complaints.

"They are damp. In some of the bungalows the water runs off the walls and gathers in little pools on the floor. The damp causes the distemper to crack and flake off the walls. There are no baths, and water for tubs has to be heated up over the gas ring. And with anything more than a minute family the temporary homes are so small that they will just repeat the overcrowding of pre-war days on even more cramped scale.

Somehow all these magnificent gifts of grateful country to its long-suffering people seem surprisingly shoddy when they come to be examined.

American Stakehill

The trial of a number of guards from an American military prison reveals conditions such places which compete easily with Stakehill (about which incidentally there has been ominous silence since the opening of the military enquiry).

At the time of writing the American case was still going on, and further revelations will probably be made, but the evidence of one of the victims, Add Baker, reported in the *Evening Standard* (5/1/46) is so horrifying that it should be recorded to show what lies behind the hubbub of some of the American army leaders about Belsen and Buchenwald.

"Add Baker, a young U.S. soldier, who had been a prisoner in the American 10th Reformatory Depot at Lichfield, Staffs, told the American Army court that he was once taken out of a guardroom by a guard with a carbine. From what was said, he understood he was going to be shot.

Baker said that prisoners at the depot waited an hour outside the mess hall before breakfast. They were allowed, on the average, fifteen minutes to eat it.

Prisoners were made to stand with their arms extended for long periods. 'It seemed to be like half an hour,' said Baker, 'and when your arms fell down you got a club in the back of the head.'

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The central theme of the book, as its title suggests, is that education has gone wrong because it has been concerned with heads and not hearts. Our schools have concentrated on thinking instead of on feeling, which has resulted in the repression of our emotional lives. The buried emotions have become thwarted, dangerous and inimical to society, finding their expression in authoritarianism and finally in war.

Neill, however, never could keep to a theme for he writes as he talks, and perhaps that is why his books are always so readable in contrast to the bulk of deadly dull educational literature. Under the compulsion of the association of ideas he is continually darting off at a tangent, and although his digressions are stimulating and rarely unimportant he remains a slipshod writer and his book has its share of solecisms, contradictions and political naiveties.

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Neill's arguments in support of sexual freedom for youth are cogent and irrefutable, and to my mind not in the least invalidated by the difficulties confronting the person who wishes to put his theories into practice. He fully realises these difficulties and, after facing them frankly, decides with extreme reluctance that to go the whole way is for him not at the moment practical politics. "When society has a love attitude

at Westminster or anywhere else. As I see it, the publication of this book is of far greater significance educationally than the vociferously acclaimed Education Act. Says Neill: "I have no illusions about my own name; in fifty years it will be unknown." On the contrary, I prophesy that long after the names of Mr. Butler and Miss Wilkinson will have passed into the oblivion they deserve, the name that will be remembered by educationists of the future will be that of A. S. Neill.

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The Growth of Libertarian Thought—5

Around the turn of the century libertarian socialism in Central Europe had to give way to Marxism, and in recent times has been most in evidence in the writings of a number of outstanding men. In Germany, before 1914, Gustav Landauer endeavoured to give socialism, which was decaying through political tactics and party organisation, a sound ideological basis. Social cohesion, he claimed, which alone makes life worth living, cannot be achieved by artificial means. Only a sense of unity can create this, and such a sense of unity can only grow in freedom. Landauer exercised a certain influence in the Bavarian Soviet Republic, and, as a martyr for his ideas, was beaten to death by soldiers who had been sent by a Social Democratic Government.

Russia

As a mass movement anarchism made its most recent appearances in Russia and Spain.

It is a distortion of facts to represent the revolution of October 1917 as the work of the Bolsheviks. The Workers' and Peasants' Soviets, who chased away the landowners and capitalists and took possession of the means of production, were independent and autonomous bodies. On the land the deciding influence was exercised by the Left Social Revolutionaries and the Anarchists. The idea of the workers' council as a cell of the new society has nothing to do with

government to build up their state apparatus, which was staffed with former Tsarist officials and policemen. Gradually the soviets were robbed of their freedom, and the G.P.U. began its reign of terror. The freedom of the supporters of Machno, who had played a prominent role in the defeat of the White generals, was destroyed by the Red Army with murder and fire.

Kronstadt

In 1921, with the crushing of the freedom of the Kronstadt Workers' and Sailors' Council, fell the last bastion of libertarian socialism in Russia. Through their heroic resistance to the soldiers of Trotsky, in the name of socialism, local autonomy and democratic freedom, the Kronstadt revolutionaries left a historical monument like that of the Paris Commune.

In their proclamation they wrote: "In view of the fact that the present soviets no longer express the will of the peasants and workers, we suggest—Immediate secret elections with secret voting, where an absolute freedom of organisation is maintained for workers and peasant communes, for anarchists and socialists. To free all political prisoners of the socialist parties and all who had connection with workers' and peasant movements, imprisoned workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors. To set up a commission for the revision of all cases and legal

strongly federalist, centralisation and compulsory uniformity of opinion were unknown, but voluntary solidarity was so great that it happened frequently that a strike which had started in one end of Spain spread spontaneously throughout the entire peninsula, without having been ordered by a greater authority. The anarcho-syndicalist movement in Spain has maintained itself through innumerable illegal periods, while centralised, disciplined political parties collapsed like houses of cards. This is a sign that unity of aim is the deciding factor.

H. KOECHLIN.

(Translated by I. R.)

(To be concluded)

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Prisoners were made to stand with their arms extended for long periods. "It seemed to be like half an hour," said Baker, "and when your arms fell down you got a club in the back with a stick. I have seen prisoners struck with the butt of a rifle pretty hard. One I had just come out of hospital with a broken back and could not stand, so I knelt. A lieutenant asked me what was the matter and gave me a pretty hard kick."

Baker said he saw a coloured soldier beaten with clubs. In the presence of Sergeant Smith he was made to bend over with his nose touching a table top. He was later knocked down by a gaoler, and was hit in the place where he had been wounded. "Another guard told me not to grunt and hit me over the head," said Baker.

Baker continued that Sergeant Smith once asked a man where he had been wounded. When he indicated the spot the sergeant struck him there. He saw another guard do a similar thing.

It seems that, although Patton lies a-mouldering in the grave, his soul goes marching on.

Desperate Conditions Continue In Europe

Despite political events such as the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Big Three at Moscow, which the *Daily Express* writes up as being of the first importance, the outstanding problem of the moment continues to be the needs on the Continent. The economic problems involve the lives of millions of people, their magnitude completely dwarfs the manoeuvres of politicians.

It is generally admitted that starvation is general in Europe with varying degrees of acuteness. Those, like Will Lawther, who do it, only give point to the contention put forward in these columns before that the solution to the problem is not quite straightforward because it is complicated by propaganda needs of political groups and governments. A similar campaign of confusion was conducted after 1918 by the *Daily Mail*, which sneered at everyone who spoke of starvation among the defeated populations as being deluded by the "whining Hun". The part of Lord Vansittart was then filled by Sir Eric Geddes who advocated "squeezing the till the pips squeaked". Afterwards when the facts were established, such views were held

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Machno

The significant libertarian tendency existed among the Ukrainian peasants, who gathered round the anarchist-communist Machno and organised free peasant communes with the communal owning of land. "In so far as man comes near to a true personality," writes Machno, "he will discard those ideas which are artificial, those ideas which trample underfoot the rights of personality, those ideas by which the master and the serf live habitually in present day society. In so far as man puts forward the pure and clear ideals of freedom, through which a new, free, human society can be born, he will become a conscious anarchist revolutionary."

However, conditions soon tended towards an authoritarian system. The lack of organisation of the libertarian elements and the immobilisation at the front during the civil war of the best revolutionary minds, soon allowed the Bolshevik

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After the defeat Kronstadt was submitted to a reign of bloody terror, from which women and children were not excepted. After the revolution had been murdered in the name of freedom, there remained for Russia only the path of the counter-revolution, the development of revolutionary dictatorship towards state-capitalism and the open imperialism of a growing power.

Spain

The libertarian movement in Spain possessed a wider field. Here, before Bakunin's time, there already existed revolutionary co-operatives, which were maintained by the spirit of voluntary co-operation, and whose construction has been influenced by the appearance of Proudhon's writings in Spanish translations. The agitation of Bakunin's friends found fruitful soil in the Iberian peninsula, while until this day Marxism has met with comparatively little sympathy. Instead of political parties, anarcho-syndicalist trade unions developed. The task of these organisations did not limit itself to day-to-day demands, but they prepared the social revolution in the minds of the workers, in an ideological as well as an organisational capacity. They regarded themselves as the agents of the coming society, which would take the place of the state.

The syndicalist trade unions had no paid secretarial posts. For this reason no bureaucrats were born from their ranks, but rather people like the well-known educationalist Francisco Ferrer. The organisation of the C.N.T. was

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Industrial Notes

HOW MI

A recent article in the "Manchester Guardian" by John Barker, a clergyman in a mining district, gives some startling figures of the recent incidence of silicosis and allied lung diseases among miners in South Wales. During the five years 1940-44 in that district alone, 438 coal miners died from lung disease, and in the Western Area of South Wales 3,548 men were discharged for that reason besides which, at the end of 1944, there was a waiting list of 2,832 men who had applied for certificates and were awaiting examination. In the first six months of 1945, owing to a speed-up of medical examinations, the number of men found to be unfit through lung disease was substantially increased, 1,111 being suspended in West Wales, 577 in the Rhondda, 229 in the Aberdare and Merthyr district. The proportion of miners who are now disabled through suffering from this disease is so high that, according to a memorandum of the Amalgamated Anthracite Combination Committee quoted by Mr. Baker, "In some of these communities a very high percentage of the total male populations is affected by the disease, and in some parts there are whole streets with a victim in every house". The employment exchange figures which the writer quotes show that the majority of the men registered as disabled from this disease are under fifty, and in recent months the proportion of young men has increased perceptibly. Most of these men are fit for light work.

A list of figures gives only a slight impression of the real meaning of this scourge among the mining workers. It is only if we can put ourselves in imagination in the place of one of the men who suffers from it that we can appreciate its full horror. Mr. Baker, who has lived among the miners

FREIE ARBEITER STIMME

Comrade Michaels informs us that a meeting to celebrate the 55th anniversary of the Jewish workers' paper *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* and Comrade David Isakovitz' 70th birthday and over 50 years in the working class movement, is to be held on Sunday, 20th January, at 3.30 p.m. at Circle House, 22 Alie Street, Aldgate, E.1. The ties between the comrades of *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* and the comrades of *Freedom Press* have been loosened somewhat during the war years because of their differing position on the war issue, but we are pleased to send fraternal greetings to a paper with such a long record in the workers' movement.

HEADS OR HEARTS ? Anarchist Commentary

Soviet Education

Of particular interest is a digression on the subject of Russia. To those familiar with Neill's ideas, it had always seemed odd that he had not discovered that Communism is as much opposed to his philosophy as Fascism. Whether he has fully realised it now is debatable but at least his illusions about Soviet education have been finally dispelled.

He has discovered at last the significance of the abolition of co-education, the creation of the colleges for young officers, the re-imposition of strict discipline and the barbarous system of punishment designed to produce completely docile and submissive pupils. One cannot help sympathising with his disappointment: "And so many of us who have looked to Russia to lead the way in politics and education must sigh, and decide to plough our lonely furrows. We have very many things to learn from the Soviet Union, but we have nothing to learn from it in education and a new orientation to creative, spiritual life."

Sexual Freedom

No one has done more than A. S. Neill to eradicate the superstition and ignorance that surround the adult attitude to sexuality in children. His previous books, with almost monotonous regularity, have emphasised the incredible foolishness of moralising about sex and the dangerous stupidity of the masturbation verbot. "Masturbation, however," as an old pupil of Summerhill once put it, "is but the pale shadow of sex," and in this book Neill goes right on to the substance, and for the first time fully commits himself by working out his ideas to their logical conclusion.

While acknowledging his debt to Freud, he has gone forward a long way beyond him and has obviously been considerably influenced by the work of Wilhelm Reich, of whom he says, "Reich is the only man who has given the proletariat a new message about sex. His lead must be followed. The future lies with the masses, not the classes. Progress can only come through them, but the road will be long and hard, and the classes will fight to preserve the sex repression that castrates the workers and makes them ready to be slaves."

Reich has a direct message for teachers. It is clear from his book, "The Function of the Orgasm" (recently reviewed in *Now* by M. L. Berneri) that he considers the repression of the sex life of the child and adolescent by the school and the home to be the direct cause of the submissiveness of the people to authoritarian political rule, and that he sees the only solution in a free sex life for the young. Although unfortunately few teachers are likely to read Reich, a considerable number will read Neill and this book itself makes the best of significant

to sex instead of a fear and hate one, the co-educational school will provide facilities for a sex life for children when they are biologically ready for it, but many wars and revolutions and social re-education will intervene before that time comes." Perhaps in an anarchist society? At any rate, to the young teacher or parent who accepts Reich's thesis this is a tremendous challenge, for as Neill says, "Sexual freedom for the young will come, but it will be the day after to-morrow unless youth itself demands its rights."

The Planners

To-day educationalists are largely pre-occupied with planning, the prevailing fashion of our times. The planners are concerned with the superficial, with such things as the classification of schools and curriculum, and do not begin to touch the fundamental. The general idea seems to be to give more education to more people without any regard to the nature of education itself, but as Neill says: "Education is much wider than school subjects. Our plans must be founded on the fact that the emotion is of greater moment than the intellect, that the unconscious of a child is infinitely greater than his conscious. Our planning, therefore, should forget all about school subjects and timetables, and ask only one big question: What can we do to make people happier and more efficient in work, more balanced in character, more satisfied in emotional life?"

This book goes a long way towards answering that question, and if for that reason alone it is worth far more than any of the plans concocted at Westminster or anywhere else. As I see it, the publication of this book is of far greater significance educationally than the vociferously acclaimed Education Act. Says Neill: "I have no illusions about my own name; in fifty years it will be unknown." On the contrary, I prophesy that long after the names of Mr. Butler and Miss Wilkinson will have passed into the oblivion they deserve, the name that will be remembered by educationists of the future will be that of A. S. Neill.

TOM EARLEY.

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The Homes For Heroes (1946 Pattern)

It has been revealed that during 1945 the London County Council's housing programme did not result in the completion of a single permanent house. Some 900 houses have been started, but as a total of 441 men were employed on them in the middle of December it does not seem likely that they will be ready for some time. This is a remarkable start for a forecast of 16,000 houses being under way within a year after the end of the war.

Meanwhile the pre-fabricated houses do not seem to be all that was claimed. A *News Chronicle* reporter visited some asbestos dwellings in Clapham, and, besides the usual blarney, came back with a long list of complaints.

"They are damp. In some of the bungalows the water runs off the walls and gathers in little pools on the floor. The damp causes the distemper to crack and flake off the walls."

There are no baths, and water for tubs has to be heated up over the gas ring. And with anything more than a minute family the temporary homes are so small that they will just repeat the overcrowding of pre-war days on an even more cramped scale.

Somehow all these magnificent gifts of a grateful country to its long-suffering people seem surprisingly shoddy when they come to be examined.

American Stakehill

The trial of a number of guards from an American military prison reveals conditions in such places which compete easily with Stakehill (about which incidentally there has been an ominous silence since the opening of the military enquiry).

At the time of writing the American case is still going on, and further revelations will probably be made, but the evidence of one of the victims, Add Baker, reported in the *Evening Standard* (5/1/46) is so horrifying that it should be recorded to show what lies behind the humbug of some of the American army leaders about Belsen and Buchenwald.

"Add Baker, a young U.S. soldier, who had been a prisoner in the American 10th Reinforcement Depot at Lichfield, Staffs, told an American Army court that he was once taken out of a guardroom by a guard with a carbine. From what was said, he understood he was going to be shot."

Baker said that prisoners at the depot waited an hour outside the mess hall before breakfast. They were allowed, on the average, five minutes to eat it.

Prisoners were made to stand with their arms extended for long periods. "It seemed to be like half an hour," said Baker, "and when your arms fell down you got a club in the back with a stick. I have seen prisoners struck

Refusal To Give Information

The *British Medical Journal*, in its issue for December 15th, points to one significant fact. "A White Paper dealing with conditions in Germany from December 1918, to March 1919, was published early in 1919; later on the same year the results of a full investigation conducted by Prof. E. H. Starling were published as a White Paper. It is a sign of a decay in the attitude of Governments to governed during the last quarter of a century that no official reports on conditions on the Continent have appeared so far and have been refused by the Government; that official information has been given only in answer to critics in Parliament; and that we have had to depend for information on journalists who might well be given truthful but unbalanced accounts." In the absence of such accounts, it is impossible to check the answers of politicians.

The International Wheat Council reported last autumn that the world stocks of wheat were insufficient to meet the needs of the population, and Sir Ben Smith stated on December 7th last that "one million six hundred thousand tons of wheat were required in the British zone alone, and it was a physical impossibility, because of the world shortage, to supply that." But *B.M.J.* asks whether the grain "has been used up in feeding livestock and making commercial alcohol?" What we are not told is how these priorities are allocated, and we quote these criticisms—coming from a source which is usually regarded as being reactionary—to show that we are not alone in criticisms, and we are by no means merely carping. We have given many instances in support of our contention that when governments say that supplies come short of demands, they mean the supplies which remain over after powerful industries have taken their quota—for a thousand examples in the last 25 years have shown how profits take precedence over the human needs of the peoples.

Lowering The Standards

But the *B.M.J.*'s criticisms do not end there. They express concern "that the Allied Council (in Vienna) has since September agreed to try to provide the normal consumer with 1,550 calories daily. This 1,550 standard has been mentioned frequently in the lay press as the minimum needed to prevent continuous degeneration . . ." Commenting on a report by Dr. Magnus Pyke on conditions in Vienna they continue, "Dr. Pyke now writes of 1,600 calories; we believe that this is the first time that such a low standard has been suggested by anyone with a claim to knowledge of nutrition. Where did this standard originate? What justification is there for it?" They then point out that during the last war in Germany people eating 1,600 calories obtained from rationed foods and also getting some extras outside rations, nevertheless

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Neill's arguments in support of sexual freedom for youth are cogent and irrefutable, and to my mind not in the least invalidated by the difficulties confronting the person who wishes to put his theories into practice. He fully realises these difficulties and, after facing them frankly, decides with extreme reluctance that to go the whole way is for him not at the moment practical politics. "When society has a love attitude

at the minister or anywhere else. . . . the publication of this book is of far greater significance educationally than the vociferously acclaimed Education Act. Says Neill: "I have no illusions about my own name; in fifty years it will be unknown." On the contrary, I prophesy that long after the names of Mr. Butler and Miss Wilkinson will have passed into the oblivion they deserve, the name that will be remembered by educationists of the future will be that of A. S. Neill.

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of Libertarian Thought—5

government to build up their state apparatus, which was staffed with former Tsarist officials and policemen. Gradually the soviets were robbed of their freedom, and the G.P.U. began its reign of terror. The freedom of the supporters of Machno, who had played a prominent role in the defeat of the White generals, was destroyed by the Red Army with murder and fire.

Kronstadt

In 1921, with the crushing of the freedom of the Kronstadt Workers' and Sailors' Council, fell the last bastion of libertarian socialism in Russia. Through their heroic resistance to the soldiers of Trotsky, in the name of socialism, local autonomy and democratic freedom, the Kronstadt revolutionaries left a historical monument like that of the Paris Commune.

In their proclamation they wrote: "In view of the fact that the present soviets no longer express the will of the peasants and workers, we suggest—Immediate secret elections with secret voting, where an absolute freedom of organisation is maintained for workers and peasant communes, for anarchists and socialists. To free all political prisoners of the socialist parties and all who had connection with workers' and peasant movements, imprisoned workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors. To set up a commission for the revision of all cases and legal proceedings of those who are at present in con-

strongly federalist, centralisation and compulsory uniformity of opinion were unknown, but voluntary solidarity was so great that it happened frequently that a strike which had started in one end of Spain spread spontaneously throughout the entire peninsula, without having been ordered by a greater authority. The anarcho-syndicalist movement in Spain has maintained itself through innumerable illegal periods, while centralised, disciplined political parties collapsed like houses of cards. This is a sign that unity of aim is the deciding factor.

H. KOECHLIN.

(Translated by I. R.)

(To be concluded)

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Baker said that prisoners at the depot waited an hour outside the mess hall before breakfast. They were allowed, on the average, five minutes to eat it.

Prisoners were made to stand with their arms extended for long periods. 'It seemed to be like half an hour,' said Baker, 'and when your arms fell down you got a club in the back with a stick. I have seen prisoners struck with the butt of a rifle pretty hard. Once I had just come out of hospital with a bad back and could not stand, so I knelt. A lieutenant asked me what was the matter and gave me a pretty hard kick.'

Baker said he saw a coloured soldier beaten with clubs. In the presence of Sergeant Smith he was made to bend over with his nose touching a table top. He was later knocked down by a gaoler, and was hit in the place where he had been wounded. 'Another guard told me not to grunt and hit me over the head,' he said.

Baker continued that Sergeant Smith once asked a man where he had been wounded. When he indicated the spot the sergeant struck him there. He saw another guard do a similar thing."

It seems that, although Patton lies a-mouldering in the grave, his soul goes marching on!

Desperate Conditions Continue In Europe

Despite political events such as the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Big Three in Moscow, which the *Daily Express* writes up as being of the first importance, the outstanding problem of the moment continues to be the food needs on the Continent. The economic problems involve the lives of millions of people, and their magnitude completely dwarfs the manoeuvres of politicians.

It is generally admitted that starvation is general in Europe with varying degrees of acuteness. Those, like Will Lawther, who deny it, only give point to the contention put forward in these columns before that the solution to the problem is not quite straightforward because it is complicated by propaganda needs of political groups and governments. A similar campaign of confusion was conducted after 1918 by the *Daily Mail*, which sneered at everyone who spoke of starvation among the defeated populations as being deluded by the "whining Huns". The part of Lord Vansittart was then filled by Sir Eric Geddes who advocated "squeezing them till the pips squeaked". Afterwards when the facts were established, such views were held up to a proper contempt. But that did not restore

of demands, they mean the supplies which remain over after powerful industries have taken their quota—for a thousand examples in the last 25 years have shown how profits take precedence over the human needs of the peoples.

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Hungarian Tragedy

Yet another instance of political manoeuvres as a substitute for solutions to the starvation problem is reported from Hungary. The Minister of Public Supplies has stated that bread supplies are only sufficient to cover another six days, according to the *Observer's* correspondent. "This week, 300,000 out of a million inhabitants of greater Budapest will no longer receive ration cards, and thus will not even have a nominal right to share in the remaining food supplies." It is not explained how these 300,000 who have been given a virtual death sentence are selected, but it is difficult to see any principle of selection which could be justified as a reason for depriving human beings of their most basic needs.

The present food crisis coincides with a spell of extremely cold weather and an almost complete lack of fuel. The Primate of Hungary, Cardinal Mindszenty, in his New Year Message, gave some statistics which indicate the health of the population. In Budapest in November, 822 live babies were born as against 2,188 dead ones. How many of the live babies survive their first month is not stated. However, the food situation has considerably declined since November, for then expectant mothers were still,

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After the defeat Kronstadt was submitted to a reign of bloody terror, from which women and children were not excepted. After the revolution had been murdered in the name of freedom, there remained for Russia only the path of the counter-revolution, the development of revolutionary dictatorship towards state-capitalism and the open imperialism of a growing power.

Spain

The libertarian movement in Spain possessed a wider field. Here, before Bakunin's time, there already existed revolutionary co-operatives, which were maintained by the spirit of voluntary co-operation, and whose construction has been influenced by the appearance of Proudhon's writings in Spanish translations. The agitation of Bakunin's friends found fruitful soil in the Iberian peninsula, while until this day Marxism has met with comparatively little sympathy. Instead of political parties, anarcho-syndicalist trade unions developed. The task of these organisations did not limit itself to day-to-day demands, but they prepared the social revolution in the minds of the workers, in an ideological as well as an organisational capacity. They regarded themselves as the agents of the coming society, which would take the place of the state.

The syndicalist trade unions had no paid secretarial posts. For this reason no bureaucrats were born from their ranks, but rather people like the well-known educationalist Francisco Ferrer. The organisation of the C.N.T. was

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HOW MINERS DIE

A recent article in the "Manchester Guardian", by John Barker, a clergyman in a mining district, gives some startling figures of the recent incidence of silicosis and allied lung diseases among miners in South Wales. During the five years 1940-44, in that district alone, 438 coal miners died from lung disease, and in the Western Area of South Wales 3,548 men were discharged for that reason, besides which, at the end of 1944, there was a waiting list of 2,832 men who had applied for certificates and were awaiting examination. In the first six months of 1945, owing to a speed-up of medical examinations, the number of men found to be unfit through lung disease was substantially increased, 1,111 being suspended in West Wales, 577 in the Rhondda, 229 in the Aberdare and Merthyr district. The proportion of miners who are now disabled through suffering from this disease is so high that, according to a memorandum of the Amalgamated Anthracite Combine Committee quoted by Mr. Baker, "In some of these communities a very high percentage of the total male populations is affected by the disease, and in some parts there are whole streets with a victim in every house". The employment exchange figures which the writer quotes show that the majority of the men registered as disabled from this disease are under fifty, and in recent months the proportion of young men has increased perceptibly. Most of these men are fit for light work.

A list of figures gives only a slight impression of the real meaning of this scourge among the mining workers. It is only if we can put ourselves in imagination in the place of one of the men who suffers from it that we can appreciate its full horror. Mr. Baker, who has lived among the miners

for years, describes in the following words the individual effect of the disease.

"Daily I see young men walking like old men because the muscles of their lungs are imprisoned in cement-hard dust. I have seen them strong and fit; I have seen them grow old in a week, after hearing the medical verdict on their case, and I have seen them die in long months of agony. I have been with very many people at their death-bed; it is part of my daily work. But I have seen no death to compare, in long-drawn agony, with death from lung disease. They die many times before they are brought to their death-bed. With their petrified lungs they cannot take in the air they need. And when they are ill from what would be but a slight chill for a normal person, how pitiful are their efforts to get air, gasping by an open window as though there were not enough air in the room! And at the end of their last illness they fight with haggard faces, until the heart fails to carry on any longer and stops, worn out by the excessive strain."

So far, no satisfactory means of treating this disease has been discovered, and no adequate means of prevention has been devised. We are reluctant to believe that a really thorough application of research would not find some means of prevention, and it seems to us that this kind of inquiry is held up merely because it is not profitable, but only human health, that is concerned. Nevertheless, the steady toll of life and health which must come from mining even under the best circumstances reinforces our desire to see the whole

Continued on p. 4.

FASCISM LIVES ON

We reproduce below a document which shows how Germans are being punished for the crimes committed by their rulers. It is a fearful document, a proof that though Hitler may be dead his spirit is still alive. It should shake the conscience of the world because if the German nation as a whole is considered responsible for Nazism and for all its crimes there is no reason why the whole of the British nation should not be held responsible for the bombing of Indo-Chinese and the burning to the ground of Indonesian villages.

The President of the Republic, Dr. Edúard Benes, at Lidice on June 10th, 1945:

"I hold the German nation as a whole responsible for Nazism and for all its crimes. Early in September, 1938, we had in our negotiations with our Germans come to a point where it was necessary to do something absolutely decisive. On September 2nd, 1938, we offered them the so-called 'Fourth Plan.' Therefore I earnestly advise our Germans to consider this once again. It is not only we who are concerned. And our Germans experience what they have prepared for themselves by their doings. Our Germans cannot complain that they have not been warned in time. At a moment of extreme importance for them and for us."

Citizens of Vinohrady!

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persons in all offices;

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Citizens, workers and toiling people! We will, in accordance with the principles of our Government, carry out a proper purge and establish order at least in our district. Therefore help us, you too, to make Vinohrady national and ours as soon as possible.

These measures are only temporary, pending the deportation of all these people.

LOCAL COMMITTEE FOR PRAGUE XII.

Oldrich Hlas, *Chairman*.

Conscientious Objector's Struggle

We have only just received news of the struggle of a New Zealand C.O., Harold McAuley, in the Mount Eden Prison at Auckland. He is 39, and has been placed in Grade III for Military Service; has been in prison or Detention Camp since January 1942. The following is a brief account of his imprisonment:

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(It was obvious to fellow-prisoners that this was not self-inflicted.)

8th May, 1945: Prison Superintendent and Prison Doctor ordered McAuley out into the yard. He refused to go; whereupon all his bedding, etc., was taken away and he was dumped on the floor of his cell.

Bedding was returned at night. This proceeding was repeated for several days thereafter.

11th May, 1945: Eight fellow-prisoners approached Prison Superintendent for permission to write to Controller of Prisons or Minister of Justice re treatment being meted out to McAuley. Permission was refused.

14th May, 1945: Six fellow-prisoners saw visiting J.P. re McAuley. J.P. did utmost to persuade men from taking any action, the Superintendent at the same time threatening the men. Finally the men were given paper to enable them to make a written protest.

As soon as interview was over McAuley's bedding was returned to him.

OVER TWO MONTHS HAVE NOW PASSED. MCAULEY IS STILL CONFINED TO HIS CELL.

He is not allowed any independent medical attention and efforts of a solicitor to visit him have been frustrated. Urgent messages come out from his fellow-prisoners emphasising his serious plight and urging immediate action.

Letters to the Editors

Victimisation of

SIR,

I imagine your readers might be interested to hear of the ill-boding events at present attendant on the repatriation of Italian Prisoners of War; it is certainly time that some protest was made against this most unpalatable situation.

The returning Italian soldier, it seems, is allowed to take with him only the following: 1 pair of trousers, 1 jacket, 1 set of under-clothing, 1 pair of boots, 1 pair of socks, 1 tube of tooth-paste, etc.—in fact, just one of each of the mere necessities (in spite of a three weeks journey, incidentally). "Personal effects" (photographs and identity card, presumably) are allowed: but this category does not include either the various small articles which most Italians have purchased or acquired during their working years in this country—cigarette lighters, knives and so on—or the contents of parcels sent to them by their relatives or friends. It is the ban against the latter which, understandably, is causing a great deal of resentment and ill-feeling.

I have worked with these men for several years now, long enough to be sure that no trace of fascist arrogance or ideology persists among them. But I cannot say that their experience over here has been such as to encourage any very great enthusiasm for British democracy. And yet, as they have worked side by side with British people, certain strong links have been forged between our country and theirs... particularly by way of those Italians who were lucky enough to be sent to smaller hostels in the country or to individual farms: the boorish and narrow-minded rustic has been immeasurably more civilised in his dealings with these unfortunate exiles than the smarter townspeople (if the behaviour of the county town of this shire is anything to go by). It is unprofitable to discuss the past, however, and on the whole (since no-one expects the prisoner's lot to be an easy one, least of all the prisoner), normal human decency has made its impression.

But now, I am afraid, this potentially important section of the Italian people is being handled (if that is the right word) in such a way as to antagonize them once and for all. And this right at the end of their stay, and utterly without sense or purpose. I know from personal contacts that those P.O.W.'s who agreed to become "Co-operators" are now cursing themselves for their stupidity: "We are Co-operators, but it is only work we may co-operate in." They consider that the British government, and hence the British people, have made fools of them—and your readers will know how dangerous and enduring an emotion that can be.

Repatriation has been postponed time and time again, and even now is proceeding very slowly; but most of the P.O.W.'s are ready to understand that this is due to transport difficulties. But they cannot understand why these few extra clothes and personal belongings sent by their

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 - (e) no person marked with the Swastika is allowed to stay in, or proceed through, public gardens or parks, or woods, they are not allowed to call at or use barbers' shops, restaurants, places of amusement of any kind, especially theatres, cinemas, lectures, etc., likewise they are not allowed to use laundries, cleaners' shops and rolling-presses. Shopping time for these persons is exclusively between 11 a.m. and 1 p.m., and between 3 and 4 p.m. For disregarding the times so defined both buyer and seller will be liable to the same punishment. For dealings with authorities the time between 7.30 and 8.30 a.m. is exclusively fixed for these

proper badge as prescribed, will be severely punished in the way the Nazi authorities adopted in similar cases. The same punishment will also be meted out to those who abet these per-

and ours as soon as possible.

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After about a week McAuley became seriously ill and though he gave up the hunger strike he was able to retain very little food.

The Prison Doctor stated that he was "malingering" and that the vomiting was self-inflicted.

McAuley remained locked in his cell day after day and week after week, his health seriously deteriorating.

2nd May, 1945: Allowed out into exercise yard with other men, staggered a few steps and lay down. After a few moments turned pale, broke into a cold sweat and vomited violently.

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His friends are doing their utmost to secure an enquiry into his case, and are seeking to give the facts the utmost publicity. They point out that McAuley is fighting for: Recognition as a sincere Conscientious Objector: The abandonment of the Government's policy of holding indefinitely men who are unable to convince Appeal Boards of their sincerity: The rights of individuals against a growing totalitarianism which threatens ruthlessly to suppress every minority and non-conformists.

I have worked with these men for several years now, long enough to be sure that no trace of fascist arrogance or ideology persists among them. But I cannot say that their experience over here has been such as to encourage any very great enthusiasm for British democracy. And yet, as they have worked side by side with British people, certain strong links have been forged between our country and theirs . . . particularly by way of those Italians who were lucky enough to be sent to smaller hostels in the country or to individual farms: the boorish and narrow-minded rustic has been immeasurably more civilised in his dealings with their unfortunate exiles than the smarter townspeople (if the behaviour of the county town of this shire is anything to go by). It is unprofitable to discuss the past, however, and on the whole (since no-one expects the prisoner's lot to be an easy one, least of all the prisoner), normal human decency has made its impression.

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Repatriation has been postponed time and time again, and even now is proceeding very slowly, but most of the P.O.W's are ready to understand that this is due to transport difficulties. But they cannot understand why these few extra clothes and personal belongings, sent by their families in Italy or else bought with their own earned money should be confiscated. (And those who sneer at the Italian dislike for hard work—a profitable theme, in the past, for the lower type of newspaper with half a column of space to spare—should stop and think how much work they would do, in an erstwhile enemy country for 9/- a week, half of it in Camp token money. I can hardly exaggerate the fierce anger which this ruling has provoked. Discounting the somewhat melodramatic characteristics of the race (or is it a condition bred of the 'prison life?'), I still think that we are indeed preparing future trouble for ourselves when I hear the Italians planning to burn their possessions when

LIBERAL PATRIOTS

The first national congress of the Italian Communist party to be held since the clandestine one held in Lyons in 1931 opened here yesterday afternoon with a 3½-hour speech by Signor Palmiro Togliatti to some four thousand Communist delegates from all over the peninsula.

The attention of the audience, which had a large proportion of partisan leaders and hundreds of women delegates, never flagged. Indeed many of those present continuously took notes. Neither the words Marx nor class warfare nor revolution were mentioned and except for one or two phrases I felt I might have been listening to a careful electoral speech by any of our

CANADIAN CYNICISM

The latest promise for the new world, reports a trade journal, is a nylon stocking that will last ten years. Always providing that the new world will last that time.

Toronto Saturday Night.

It's been a tough summer on insects. Look what DDT did to flies and atomic bombs to Japs.

Ottawa Citizen.

SLAVE SYSTEM

The All-India States' people's conference today urged abolition of the so-called "darogha system," said to be prevalent in the states of Rajputana, Central India, and Orissa, which it describes as "sale of human beings." Under the price of darogha when a girl of noble family is given in marriage domestic servants, especially girls, are transferred to the bridegroom and bride as part of the dowry.

Manchester Guardian, 4/1/46.

BLUM DIDN'T KNOW OF ATROCITIES!

There were many deaths at Buchenwald, but we (Leon Blum and his wife) did not know the exactly what they died of or how they died. We understood better after the bombardment of Buchenwald by the Americans on August 2, 1944.

It was then we saw pass our fence and enter our enclosure the workmen detailed to do the

Through the Press

large proportion of partisan leaders and hundreds of women delegates, never flagged. Indeed many of those present continuously took notes. Neither the words Marx nor class warfare nor revolution were mentioned and except for one or two phrases I felt I might have been listening to a careful electoral speech by any of our own Labour leaders.

On Trieste and Alto Adige Signor Togliatti said: "When we fought for our freedom (with one hundred and forty large partisan formations) we also fought for our frontiers." This brought prolonged cheers from every corner of the large hall.

Manchester Guardian, 31/12/45.

EXPENSIVE CHRISTMAS DINNER

Russia is having an even tougher inflation battle than the U.S.A. This is due partly to the fact that there is no fixed formula for controlling prices, but rather an extravagant system of "discounts," ranging from 15 per cent. for the average Communist Party worker to 56 per cent. for top military and political leaders.

For numerous factory and clerical employees, there is no discount at all. This system, according to Congressmen returned from Russia, is a boon to certain favoured classes, but works a considerable hardship on the ordinary factory workers.

The latter must deal chiefly at so-called "ration" stores in their own plants. These stores have lower price scales, but sell only the bare necessities, such as work clothes and staple foods. The big "commercial" stores, similar to U.S. department stores, are patronized almost exclusively by "discount" buyers.

Russian "commercial" stores sell everything from fancy foods to quality clothing. Their lines are attractively packaged and displayed, and the stores themselves vie in swank with the best department palaces in the U.S.A. However, the prices charged for some commodities would cause an American housewife to swoon.

A 12-pound dressed turkey, for instance, costs as high as \$300 in American money, based on the ruble rate of five and a half rubles to the dollar.

Eggs are \$1.44 each, cigarettes, \$9.00 per package; a cheese sandwich, \$3.06; women's house dresses, from \$72 to \$90; coffee, \$72 per pound; a paper cup of ice cream, \$1.80; men's suits, from \$540 to \$900; men's shoes from \$288 to \$396, and women's slippers, from \$360 to \$810.

Despite these prices, the "commercial" stores do a thriving business, chiefly with Russian soldiers and officers, who have plenty of money and can buy at discount rates.

Drew Pearson in *N.Y. Mirror* (U.S.A.), 21/12/45.

The dollar is worth five shillings so that your Christmas turkey would have cost you seven-fifty pounds, in Russia.

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Ottawa Citizen.

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Manchester Guardian, 4/1/46.

Through the Press

UNHOLY ALLIANCE

On December 6th, a Meeting was held in the Holborn Hall, organised by the "Peoples Party". The Speakers were The Duke of Bedford and John Beckett, a former Leader of the B.U.F. This represented the first attempt of the Fascists since their suppression to embark on open propaganda activity, and as such was a challenge to the Labour Movement. The challenge did not go unanswered.

At this London meeting there was excellent co-operation in practice between the C.P. rank and file workers and members of the R.C.P. But there was no real organisation of the opposition. Although rank and file C.P.ers participated, the C.P. issued no public call to demonstrate and the *Daily Worker* did not even mention that the meeting was taking place.

Socialist Appeal, January 1946.

Trotskyists and Communists are forming an united front against Fascists now but if the Communists were in power they would put the Trotskyists in jail, while they would collaborate with some of the Fascists as they do in many European countries to-day.

NEW WORLD RESEMBLES THE OLD

In New York there are at least 500,000 families, or over 2,000,000 men, women, and children, who live in substandard homes, most of which are slums. This represents 26% of the total New York population.

In 1939 out of 3,000,000 wage earners in New York City, more than half were earning less than \$1,300 a year, less than \$25 a week. Not all of them live in the slums. But those who don't are now paying more rent than they can afford, or living as doubled up families or in dreary rooming houses.

New York City is crowded beyond imagination. Manhattan has an average of 589 people per acre, as compared with 45 per acre in Richmond, which is populated as most suburban cities are. The total average occupants per room is equal to .83 in the crowded sections, as compared with .58 in the Park Avenue, or wealthy section of the city.

The Call (U.S.A.), 22/10/45.

BLACK INTERNATIONAL

The *Osservatore Romano*, the official organ of the Vatican, in a brief article entitled "Beyond the Frontiers" outlines the New Year programme of the Church in keeping with the recent nominations which have made the College of Cardinals for the first time in its history predomi-

nantly an international and not an Italian body.

According to many Communists here the time will have to come when the Roman Catholic Church will come to terms with Communism in its new guise of an international democratic republican movement. Already, they say, International Socialism has forced the Catholic Church to abandon its purely Italian character.

Manchester Guardian, 4/1/46.

Communists cannot fail to admire the Roman Catholic Church: it has stuck to its internationalism which they are fast abandoning.

NOT SO OBVIOUS

I have in front of me a copy of a letter written by Oberpräsident Dr. Amelnuxen, head of the Provincial Government of Westphalia. It is a reply to a German named Wellenseick, an active anti-Nazi who was wounded while fighting against Hitler. In applying for a post in the British zone he mentioned the facts about his anti-Nazi record in the belief that they would be regarded as a qualification, a proof of his political reliability to work in a Germany from which the Allies have sworn to root out Nazism. Here is a translation of the letter he received in reply from the Oberpräsident:

According to your statement you went over to the Czech-Russian partisans in the former Protectorate at the beginning of 1945, that is to say before the capitulation you fought with weapons as a German against German troops. Your employment in German public service is therefore obviously completely out of the question.

Obviously. Critic in *New Statesman*, 5/1/46.

RIVER NOT DRY YET

The Pope's Christmas address contained the graphical description of the evils of totalitarianism, a description which would have sounded more novel and convincing in 1940.

The Pope also spoke nostalgically about the old Europe in which ecclesiastical life "flowed like a majestic river." There was more than a hint of this hope that the New World would come to the rescue of the Old.

Incidentally, his seeming despair of Old Europe does not appear to be justified in the light of the facts. The present Governments of Spain, Portugal, France, Austria, and Italy are all headed by devout Catholics who (regardless of shades of political differences) have the interests of the Church at heart. The political influence of the Vatican is now, in fact, incomparably wider than the Pope's Christmas message suggests.

The Observer, 30/12/45.

1944.
It was then we saw pass our fence and entered our enclosure the workmen detailed to do the

most urgent repairs. These workmen were political deportees, and it was enough to see the haggard faces, ploughed with deep lines, the emaciated bodies with the striped garments hanging on them, their bare feet in clogs, to recall the slow torture to which they were being subjected.

Among them were French and Belgians, and despite the doubled guard of S.S., we managed to exchange a word or two with them. That was how I heard some of the names of friends, comrades or colleagues who were in the camp as I was.

That is how they first heard of our presence. That is how we obtained our first exact information as to the kind of work they did, the hours they laboured, the way they were housed and fed, the brutality and the cruelty of the guards.

But the people we spoke to themselves had no idea that in certain sections of the camp where Russians, Poles and Jews were herded together, Nazi barbarity was given full play with an even more horrible savagery.

And it was only after the Americans had liberated the camp, found the files and thoroughly examined the encampment, after the deposition of the surviving victims, that the wireless revealed to us the mysteries of Buchenwald in all their quasi-demented horror.

Reynolds News, 4/1/46.

If Leon Blum and his wife who spent several years in Buchenwald, if political deportees who were also in the camp were not aware of all the atrocities committed there, then how can one expect the German people to know about them? How can they be held responsible for them?

TALKING THROUGH HIS HAT

"The New Year will witness for the mine of Britain the dawn of their brightest era," said Mr. Will Lawther, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, in a message to the miners. "The miners feel that the dark days are over and that a new light begins to gleam. We will fulfil our responsibilities to the people; let them fulfil theirs to the miners."

Manchester Guardian, 31/12/45.

Miners are still badly paid, undernourished, threatened by diseases, poorly housed—that's the dawn of their brightest era.

LIVES ON

shows how Germans are being punished. It is a fearful document, a spirit is still alive. It should shake the German nation as a whole is convicted of its crimes there is no reason why they should be held responsible for the bombing round of Indonesian villages.

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Letters to the Editors

Victimisation of Italian Prisoners

SIR,

I imagine your readers might be interested to hear of the ill-boding events at present attendant on the repatriation of Italian Prisoners of War; it is certainly time that some protest was made against this most unpalatable situation.

The returning Italian soldier, it seems, is allowed to take with him only the following: 1 pair of trousers, 1 jacket, 1 set of under-clothing, 1 pair of boots, 1 pair of socks, 1 tube of tooth-paste, etc.—in fact, just one of each of the mere necessities (in spite of a three weeks journey, incidentally). "Personal effects" (photographs and identity card, presumably) are allowed: but this category does not include either the various small articles which most Italians have purchased or acquired during their working years in this country—cigarette lighters, knives and so on—or the contents of parcels sent to them by their relatives or friends. It is the ban against the latter which, understandably, is causing a great deal of resentment and ill-feeling.

I have worked with these men for several years now, long enough to be sure that no trace of fascist arrogance or ideology persists among them. But I cannot say that their experience over here has been such as to encourage any very great enthusiasm for British democracy. And yet, as they have worked side by side with British people, certain strong links have been forged between our country and theirs... particularly by way of those Italians who were lucky enough to be sent to smaller hostels in the country or to individual farms: the boorish and narrow-minded rustic has been immeasurably more civilised in his dealings with these unfortunate exiles than the smarter townspeople (if the behaviour of the county town of this shire is anything to go by). It is unprofitable to discuss the past, however, and on the whole (since no-one expects the prisoner's lot to be an easy one, least of all the prisoner), normal human decency has made its impression.

But now, I am afraid, this potentially important section of the Italian people is being handled (if that is the right word) in such a way as to antagonize them once and for all. And this right at the end of their stay, and utterly without sense or purpose. I know from personal contacts that those P.O.W's who agreed to become "Co-operators" are now cursing themselves for their stupidity: "We are Co-operators, but it is only work we may co-operate in." They consider that the British government, and hence the British people, have made fools of them—and your readers will know how dangerous and enduring an emotion that can be.

Repatriation has been postponed time and time again, and even now is proceeding very slowly; but most of the P.O.W's are ready to understand that this is due to transport difficulties. But they cannot understand why these few extra clothes and personal belongings, sent by their families in Italy or else bought with their own

the final moment arrives and talking of how they will never forget this last humiliation.

Naturally they do not expect a free hand in the choice of luggage; but I cannot comprehend the official mind that is incapable of realising the value which a prisoner sets on something his mother or wife has sent him. (There is, I believe, a condition whereby gifts from people in this country can be taken if the donor provides the recipient with a signed note to certify that it is a gift!)

Perhaps some of these facts are incorrect—they derive largely from the reports of P.O.W's already repatriated. I certainly hope they are. But if I am under a misapprehension, so are all the Italians still in this country, and it is high time that the responsible authorities made a clear statement on the matter to the Italians themselves. Legal depositions are provided in the case of War Criminals, but "co-belligerent co-operators" are left in a gloomy official darkness.

D. J. ENRIGHT.

Warwickshire.

SEASONAL GREETINGS

"ANARCHISTS",

For some time now I have been considering writing to you; and so, with the receipt of your circular this morning, I resolved to tell you of my realization of the rottenness of your ideas, a realization that has grown ever since I started taking your snivelling rag, *Freedom* (so-called, perhaps)—*Through Anarchism*.

I am sick of your everlasting whine, your petty delight in the deprivation of decent folk by lazy, self-centred malcontents, for less work and more pay, your yowling for a vulgar, drab level of mediocrity.

If this country is ever so unfortunate as to be in the hands of anarchists (which it won't) I shall be one of the bad men who wants more than he should have; for, I regret to say, I want to be better off than some people.

In the meantime, here's to the Capitalists, Militarists, Strikebreakers, 'Scabs', and all those working to rid the country of the anarchist ulcer.

Do not send your paper to me again. Keep the balance—it will soon be in the hands of the police who will be visiting you for the last time.

And so, ex-comrades, an unhappy New Year to you all, a year that may see the end of your paper poisoning the minds of decent men and women, and also your entire personnel back in jail.

Yours faithfully,

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THE LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP
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DISCUSSION LECTURES

proper badge as prescribed, will be severely punished in the way the Nazi authorities adopted in similar cases. The same punishment will also be meted out to those who abet these per-

and others soon as possible.
These measures are only temporary, pending the deportation of all these people.
LOCAL COMMITTEE FOR PRAGUE XII.
Oldrich Hlas, *Chairman*.

Conscientious Objector's Struggle

We have only just received news of the struggle of a New Zealand C.O., Harold McAuley, in the Mount Eden Prison at Auckland. He is 39, and has been placed in Grade III for Military Service; has been in prison or Detention Camp since January 1942. The following is a brief account of his imprisonment:

1st February, 1945: As a protest against his continued imprisonment (for an indeterminate period and without any right of appeal), which he feels to be a gross injustice, McAuley refused to continue working at the Mt. Eden prison.

2nd February, 1945: Commenced to hunger strike.

9th February, 1945: Sentenced to 30 days "Close Confinement."

7th February, 1945: Suffered serious haemorrhage and placed in Prison Hospital. Continued to hunger strike.

1st March, 1945: After cursory examination by Prison Doctor, carried down to solitary confinement dungeon on a stretcher. Jolting on stretcher caused another bad haemorrhage.

1st March, 1946: Removed to Auckland Hospital.

1st March, 1945: Returned to Mt. Eden Prison. Continued to hunger strike and confined to cell.

After about a week McAuley became seriously ill and though he gave up the hunger strike he was able to retain very little food.

The Prison Doctor stated that he was "mal-nourished" and that the vomiting was self-inflicted.

McAuley remained locked in his cell day after day and week after week, his health seriously deteriorating.

2nd May, 1945: Allowed out into exercise yard with other men, staggered a few steps and lay down. After a few moments turned pale, broke into a cold sweat and vomited violently.

(It was obvious to fellow-prisoners that this was not self-inflicted.)

8th May, 1945: Prison Superintendent and Prison Doctor ordered McAuley out into the yard. He refused to go; whereupon all his bedding, etc., was taken away and he was dumped on the floor of his cell.

Bedding was returned at night. This proceeding was repeated for several days thereafter.

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His friends are doing their utmost to secure an enquiry into his case, and are seeking to give the facts the utmost publicity. They point out that McAuley is fighting for: Recognition as a sincere Conscientious Objector: The abandonment of the Government's policy of holding indefinitely men who are unable to convince Appeal Boards of their sincerity: The rights of individuals against a growing totalitarianism which threatens ruthlessly to suppress every minority and non-conformists.

now, long enough to be sure that no trace of fascist arrogance or ideology persists among them. But I cannot say that their experience over here has been such as to encourage any very great enthusiasm for British democracy. And yet, as they have worked side by side with British people, certain strong links have been forged between our country and theirs . . . particularly by way of those Italians who were lucky enough to be sent to smaller hostels in the country or to individual farms: the boorish and narrow-minded rustic has been immeasurably more civilised in his dealings with these unfortunate exiles than the smarter townspeople (if the behaviour of the county town of this shire is anything to go by). It is unprofitable to discuss the past, however, and on the whole (since no-one expects the prisoner's lot to be an easy one, least of all the prisoner), normal human decency has made its impression.

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(Downstairs)

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| 13th JANUARY | Robin Bond |
| Art Education in the Free School | |
| 20th JANUARY | George Orwell |
| Trends in Russia's Foreign Policy | |
| 27th JANUARY | Tom Carlisle |
| Workers' Control versus Nationalisation of the Mines. | |

ADMISSION FREE — QUESTIONS INVITED

CANADIAN CYNICISM

The latest promise for the new world, reports a trade journal, is a nylon stocking that will last ten years. Always providing that the new world will last that time.

Toronto Saturday Night.

It's been a tough summer on insects. Look what DDT did to flies and atomic bombs to wasps.

Ottawa Citizen.

SLAVE SYSTEM

The All-India States' people's conference today urged abolition of the so-called "darogha system," said to be prevalent in the states of Rajputana, Central India, and Orisso, which it describes as "sale of human beings." Under the price of darogha when a girl of noble family is given in marriage domestic servants, especially girls, are transferred to the bridegroom and bride as part of the dowry.

Manchester Guardian, 4/1/46.

BLUM DIDN'T KNOW OF ATROCITIES!

There were many deaths at Buchenwald, but we (Leon Blum and his wife) did not know then exactly what they died of or how they died. We understood better after the bombardment of Buchenwald by the Americans on August 24, 1944.

It was then we saw pass our fence and enter our enclosure the workmen detailed to do the

AMERICAN TASTE

Mrs. Gladys Govro, British wife of a U.S. soldier, whose baby was born with two heads. The child has now died, and the medical authorities have decided that the event is so rare that it shall be the subject of special study by experts in embryology. The baby was born in a Birmingham hospital.

Local indignation has been caused by a cabled offer from America to Mrs. Govro of 500 dollars for the preserved body of the child "for exhibition purposes." The offer promises "10 per cent. of gross profits derived from the exhibition."

Sunday Dispatch, 6/1/46.

Through the Press

WHY STRIKES

Through the Press

UNHOLY ALLIANCE

On December 6th, a Meeting was held in the Holborn Hall, organised by the "Peoples Party". The Speakers were The Duke of Bedford and John Beckett, a former Leader of the B.U.F. This represented the first attempt of the Fascists since their suppression to embark on open propaganda activity, and as such was a challenge to the Labour Movement. The challenge did not go unanswered.

At this London meeting there was excellent co-operation in practice between the C.P. rank and file workers and members of the R.C.P. But there was no real organisation of the opposition. Although rank and file C.P.ers participated, the C.P. issued no public call to demonstrate and the *Daily Worker* did not even mention that the meeting was taking place.

Socialist Appeal, January 1946.

Trotskyists and Communists are forming an united front against Fascists now but if the Communists were in power they would put the Trotskyists in jail, while they would collaborate with some of the Fascists as they do in many European countries to-day.

NEW WORLD RESEMBLES THE OLD

In New York there are at least 500,000 families, or over 2,000,000 men, women, and children, who live in substandard homes, most of which are slums. This represents 26% of the total New York population.

In 1939 out of 3,000,000 wage earners in New York City, more than half were earning less than \$1,300 a year, less than \$25 a week. Not all of them live in the slums. But those who don't are now paying more rent than they can afford, or living as doubled up families or in dreary rooming houses.

New York City is becoming beyond imagination. Manhattan has an average of 589 people per acre, as compared with 45 per acre in Richmond, which is populated as most suburban cities are. The total average occupants per room is equal to .83 in the crowded sections, as compared with .58 in the Park Avenue, or wealthy section of the city.

The Call (U.S.A.), 22/10/45.

BLACK INTERNATIONAL

The *Osservatore Romano*, the official organ of the Vatican, in a brief article entitled "Beyond the Frontiers" outlines the New Year programme of the Church in keeping with the recent nominations which have made the College of Cardinals for the first time in its history predomi-

nantly an international and not an Italian body.

According to many Communists here the time will have to come when the Roman Catholic Church will come to terms with Communism in its new guise of an international democratic republican movement. Already, they say, International Socialism has forced the Catholic Church to abandon its purely Italian character.

Manchester Guardian, 4/1/46.

Communists cannot fail to admire the Roman Catholic Church: it has stuck to its internationalism which they are fast abandoning.

NOT SO OBVIOUS

I have in front of me a copy of a letter written by Oberpräsident Dr. Amelnuxen, head of the Provincial Government of Westphalia. It is a reply to a German named Wellenseick, an active anti-Nazi who was wounded while fighting against Hitler. In applying for a post in the British zone he mentioned the facts about his anti-Nazi record in the belief that they would be regarded as a qualification, a proof of his political reliability to work in a Germany from which the Allies have sworn to root out Nazism. Here is a translation of the letter he received in reply from the Oberpräsident:

According to your statement you went over to the Czech-Russian partisans in the former Protectorate at the beginning of 1945, that is to say before the capitulation you fought with weapons as a German against German troops. Your employment in German public service is therefore obviously completely out of the question.

Obviously. Critic in *New Statesman*, 5/1/46.

RIVER NOT DRY YET

The Pope's Christmas address contained the graphical description of the evils of totalitarianism, a description which would have sounded more novel and convincing in 1940.

The Pope also spoke nostalgically about the old Europe in which ecclesiastical life "flowed like a majestic river." There was more than a hint of this hope that the New World would come to the rescue of the Old.

Incidentally, his seeming despair of Old Europe does not appear to be justified in the light of the facts. The present Governments of Spain, Portugal, France, Austria, and Italy are all headed by devout Catholics who (regardless of shades of political differences) have the interests of the Church at heart. The political influence of the Vatican is now, in fact, incomparably wider than the Pope's Christmas message suggests.

The Observer, 30/12/45.

most urgent repairs. These workmen were political deportees, and it was enough to see their haggard faces, ploughed with deep lines, their emaciated bodies with the striped garments hanging on them, their bare feet in clogs, to realise the slow torture to which they were being subjected.

Among them were French and Belgians, and, despite the doubled guard of S.S., we managed to exchange a word or two with them. That was how I heard some of the names of friends, comrades or colleagues who were in the camp, as I was.

That is how they first heard of our presence. That is how we obtained our first exact information as to the kind of work they did, the hours they laboured, the way they were housed and fed, the brutality and the cruelty of the guards.

But the people we spoke to themselves had no idea that in certain sections of the camp, where Russians, Poles and Jews were herded together, Nazi barbarity was given full play with an even more horrible savagery.

And it was only after the Americans had liberated the camp, found the files and thoroughly examined the encampment, after the depositions of the surviving victims, that the wireless revealed to us the mysteries of Buchenwald in all their quasi-demented horror.

Reynolds News, 4/1/46.

If Leon Blum and his wife who spent several years in Buchenwald, if political deportees who were also in the camp were not aware of all the atrocities committed there, then how can one expect the German people to know about them? How can they be held responsible for them?

TALKING THROUGH HIS HAT

"The New Year will witness for the miners of Britain the dawn of their brightest era," says Mr. Will Lawther, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, in a message to the men. "The miners feel that the dark days are over: that a new light begins to gleam. We will fulfil our responsibilities to the people; let them fulfil theirs to the miners."

Manchester Guardian, 31/12/45.

Miners are still badly paid, undernourished, threatened by diseases, poorly housed—that's the dawn of their brightest era.

Local indignation has been caused by a cabled offer from America to Mrs. Govro of 500 dollars for the preserved body of the child "for exhibition purposes." The offer promises "10 per cent. of gross profits derived from the exhibition."

Sunday Dispatch, 6/1/46.

WHY STRIKES

Among the New Year hopes of a newspaper before me is the hope that there will be fewer strikes.

This may sound an innocent hope, but there is a sense in which we need more strikes, not fewer.

There are always two reasons for strikes. One is the obvious one: to get something the workers would never get if they didn't make a fuss.

The other is less obvious but perhaps more important: to remind people of the existence of the working class.

You may say people don't need this reminder, as they take a working class for granted as indispensable.

That's just the trouble. Like other indispensable things, such as lungs and livers, people never remember them until they find they aren't functioning.

"Yaffle" in *Reynolds News*, 6/1/46.

THREE YEARS LATE

A special Revision Court in Algiers has annulled the verdict of the court-martial which on Christmas Day, 1942, sentenced to death Fernand Bonnier de la Chapelle for the murder of Admiral Darlan the previous day. All the legal and penal consequences of the verdict are quashed.

Bonnier de la Chapelle, who was twenty years old, was executed on the day of the verdict. He had been instigated by persons whose names are well known, and was confident until the last minute that his trial and sentence were a pretence and that he would be rescued. With the evidence before the Revision Court were letters from General Giraud and General de Gaulle's secretariat.

The Court based its decision on the grounds that Darlan had betrayed the interests of France and that Bonnier de la Chapelle had acted from patriotic motives.

Manchester Guardian, 24/12/45.

It took three years to realise that getting rid of Darlan was not perhaps a bad thing. It took only thirty-six hours to try, condemn and shoot Darlan's assassin. At the time Roosevelt declared: "The cowardly assassination of Admiral Darlan is murder in the first degree. All leaders of all the United Nations will agree with that statement. Nazism and Fascism and military despotism will hold otherwise. I hope speedy justice will overtake the murderer of Admiral Darlan."

The Real Conditions in Germany

At a time when the newspaper reports about conditions inside Germany are obviously distorted and partial, it is useful to have some other source of information. The following account was sent to *Freedom* by a correspondent in Germany.

The working populations in all countries have been the chief sufferers from the war, and this is as true of Germany as of other countries. The German people are starving. 2,400 calories a day are the minimum necessary for a human being; but if a German gets 1,200 he is lucky. He will probably get even less this winter unless there is some change in the administration of the country.

There is no rationing of clothes—they are unobtainable. The Black Market flourishes. A pound of coffee fetches 350 marks (£8. 15. 0.) This causes some slight inconvenience to the soldier of the occupation forces. After he has sold his coffee, he wants to change his marks into English currency. Yet by the Regulations he cannot change more than the fortnightly amount of his pay. He gets over the difficulty however by selling his surplus marks privately at about 80 to the pound, and then sends the notes home. There is a similar regulation in the American zone, but the American soldier does not seem to have much difficulty either, for the U.S. Military H.Q. in Berlin recently stated that G.I.s have sent home 11,000,000 dollars more than their pay allowances during the first four months of the occupation. In October alone half a million dollars in excess of pay were sent home, showing how ineffective are these regulations.

With cigarettes, coffee and chocolate the allied soldier can buy anything he wants. A girl will sell herself for a bar of chocolate or a packet of cigarettes.

Requisitioning

In accordance with clause 19 of the proclamation of the Allied Commanders-in-Chief, houses, cars and furniture can be confiscated at will by the military government. They are simply "Requisitioned for Military Purposes". It is said that there have been cases of high ranking officers having cars painted over in R.A.F. colours, complete with R.A.F. number plates, and shipping them to the U.K. Even the entire production of factories—making cigarette lighters for example—have been dealt with in a like manner.

When a German is thrown out of his house under a requisitioning order, he applies to the Buergermeister and joins a long waiting list for "other accommodation". The best houses have been taken over for officers (sometimes two officers to a house) even in towns where there are good military barracks. The conquerors must have the best.

No Lifts For Germans

has been reduced to 300,000. To-day, Hanover is a city of wild-eyed, bewildered people, a city of destruction, crumbling buildings, endless queues, want and depression. Every large German town has the same story to tell.

Birds Of A Feather

The filling of administrative posts in many cases with Germans who had served under the Nazis has already shown that the alleged anti-fascist attitude of the Allies is only a thin veneer. Military Government is, in fact, not anti-fascist but simply anti-German in outlook, and also displays the usual class prejudice of the officer type. Displaced Persons who are working in the Nazi Labour Corps are being provided for in an institutional sort of way. But "displaced" landowners who fled to Germany when Russia annexed the Baltic States, and who are in fact pro-Nazi, are welcomed by the officers, and dinners are given in their honour. These people invariably say in conversation with the British, "You'll have to fight the Russians, you know." They receive more sympathy for having had estates taken away from them, than the ordinary displaced person who has lost everything, and has no prospects at all.

German Soldiers' Homecoming

Men of the Wehrmacht returning mostly from PoW camps in the East, are half starved and dressed in rags. Boots are long since worn out, and their feet are swathed in old clothing. None are really physically fit. Allied Administrative officers say that in normal times 85 per cent. of them would be hospital cases. But such are the conditions of housing and feeding in the big towns that those who possibly can move on must do so. Wehrmacht women and Red Cross nurses came back with the troops and they too are mostly ill. Some claim to have marched as much as 300 miles, and evidence seems to confirm this. Many of them have children with them, and no one can deny the care which these bedraggled mothers have lavished on them throughout the difficult journey.

Forced Labour

The German population mostly works for the Military Government, and all Army units have their share of forced labour as a result. All classes are to be found in the labour corps; school-teachers, ex-luftwaffe personnel, office workers, etc. They are paid on an average 3 marks a day (1/6). The male labourers do anything from road-mending to window-cleaning; the women are put to work in the kitchens, and as waitresses in service messes.

Germans' Attitude

In the British zone the German population, and especially the older people, are mostly servile and eager to please. But this is not due, as the

Last September the first Congress of the Anarchist Movement for twenty years was held at Carrara. Anarchists had come from all parts of Italy, many had been travelling for several days crowded in trains, in lorries or even riding there on bicycles. The majority of the delegates had been in prison during the whole of the Fascist régime or interned in the islands for political deportees, or in exile, and it was very moving to find that they were ready to carry on the struggle as if the moral and physical sufferings they had undergone were of no importance.

As we approached Carrara we saw posters fixed to the trees and on the walls announcing our Congress. And on the walls of the town itself posters had been put up by the Communists, the Socialists and the Christian Democrats sending greetings to the Congress expressing their confidence in the revolutionary activity of their "Anarchist comrades". The Prefect of the Region also came to greet us and said that he envied the Anarchists who were not mixed up in the political game and were therefore able to remain faithful to their ideals.

The Anarchist Movement in Italy

(From Our Italian Correspondent)

A demonstration was held at the beginning of the Congress in the largest theatre of Carrara when speakers explained, to the enthusiastic audience gathered there, the significance of this Congress which was to mark the continuation against every kind of oppression, and the inauguration of an organisation devoted to the defence of the interests of the workers and the oppressed.

Amongst the many decisions taken at the Congress some are particularly important from a moral point of view. Having declared its desire to remain faithful to Anarchist principles the Congress went on to express its intention to be most careful as to the methods used by the Anarchist Movement. At the moment when all political parties are trying to build up record memberships, the Anarchists must not be obsessed by this idea of strength in numbers alone. The Anarchist ideal is not merely contained in its aims but in its means of struggle as well and this must be remembered at each step towards its complete realisation.

The discussion on the methods to be used was, at times, rather heated because some delegates wanted the Anarchist movement to become a mass movement able to take its place alongside the big parties. This tendency however was very

M.G.'s Fear Disorder

But with the approach of full winter, and increasing shortages of fuel and food, there are signs that the attitude of the Germans will change to opposition, and the Military Govern-

small and only existed in the great cities like Milan where thousands of workers were anxious to join the Anarchists. These delegates had all been influenced by the Resistance period when Anarchists worked sometimes in close contact with members of other parties and when mutual influences had taken place.

In spite of this, the Congress, composed of over three hundred delegates, was unanimous in declaring that the Anarchist movement must remain independent of all other political parties and withdraw from the Committees of National Liberation in which Anarchists had participated during the Resistance but which were now mere organs of the State. The Congress also decided to oppose the Constituent Assembly and the elections and never to take part in political activity which aims at recruiting members in a demagogic manner.

The success of the Anarchists must be the result of their own efforts. They must in future work in every field, be present everywhere so that the people will feel that they are not mere philosophers but also men of action.

Regarding syndicalist activity it was decided that Anarchists should at present work inside the National Confederation of Labour (equivalent to the T.U. in Britain) while preparing revolutionary-syndicalist groups which will break away from the existing organisation, (which pursues a policy of compromise between owners and workers) as soon as possible.

In the factories and in the fields it is necessary not only to spread the idea of workers' control but also to educate the workers to run them themselves. Technicians and workers should get together to study how their proposals could take shape in practice. In this connection a delegate who is a naval engineer explained to the Congress that he had been working on plans for the reorganisation of the shipbuilding yards under workers' control. It was urged that work of that kind should be carried out in each industry so as to give a more concrete character to the Anarchist movement.

The Congress decided that Anarchists should everywhere put forward the idea of the Free Commune. This concept is to be opposed to the bureaucratic centralism of Rome which has not yet rid itself of fascist elements, which wastes money and energy by its complicated mechanism and which aims at keeping the working class under its thumb. The Commune would be a free association of the workers, who would solve their problems on the local level.

The comrades of Carrara provided an example of what the Free Commune could do. In the town which is situated on the Mediterranean coast and which is famous for its marble quarries

at about 80 to the pound, and the notes home. There is a similar regulation in the American zone, but the American soldier does not seem to have much difficulty either, for the U.S. Military H.Q. in Berlin recently stated that G.I.s have sent home 11,000,000 dollars more than their pay allowances during the first four months of the occupation. In October alone half a million dollars in excess of pay were sent home, showing how ineffective are these regulations.

With cigarettes, coffee and chocolate the allied soldier can buy anything he wants. A girl will sell herself for a bar of chocolate or a packet of cigarettes.

Requisitioning

In accordance with clause 19 of the proclamation of the Allied Commanders-in-Chief, houses, cars and furniture can be confiscated at will by the military government. They are simply "Requisitioned for Military Purposes". It is said that there have been cases of high ranking officers having cars painted over in R.A.F. colours, complete with R.A.F. number plates, and shipping them to the U.K. Even the entire production of factories—making cigarette lighters for example—have been dealt with in a like manner.

When a German is thrown out of his house under a requisitioning order, he applies to the Bürgermeister and joins a long waiting list for "other accommodation". The best houses have been taken over for officers (sometimes two officers to a house) even in towns where there are good military barracks. The conquerors must have the best.

No Lifts For Germans

The only serviceable trains are used by the occupying forces. Germans travel in open trucks and these are packed. On the autobahns large notices forbid service drivers to give lifts to Germans. People of all ages can be seen sitting dejectedly by the roadside with their bundles of possessions beside them, miles from anywhere. At night the headlights of one's car pick out white appealing faces.

The Quest For Fuel

In the early morning and at dusk the streets are filled with civilians in search of firewood. Members of all classes join in the march, pulling odd assortments of barrows and carts. Success rarely crowns their efforts chiefly because of the non-availability of tools. But the energy which they put into this quest testifies to the lack of gas and electricity.

Misery From Bombing

Despite the bombing raids on Germany, the Allied armies still had to fight their way in, and one has the impression that the suffering and misery caused to the civilian population is out of all proportion to the military advantage achieved. The effect of these raids is illustrated by the case of Hanover. Before the war it was a beautiful city, a centre of art and culture, rich in architecture, music and literature. The second residential city of Germany, it was known as "Die Stadt in Gruen"—"The town in Green".

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In the British zone the German population, and especially the older people, are mostly servile and eager to please. But this is not due, as the Hun-baiters would have us believe, to "German cunning". It is partly thankfulness that the wholesale destruction and slaughter is over, and that they find themselves in the British instead of the Russian zone; and also the terrible shortage of all basic commodities makes the population so abjectly dependent, that they become servile in consequence. Allied personnel are not allowed to make way for Germans on the pavements, and the population quickly make way for them, with however, a few exceptions.

Renewed Activity in Switzerland

DEAR FRIENDS,

We would like to let you know that we have formed in Switzerland a "Work Community of Libertarian Socialists".

Already during the war, under the most unfavourable psychological circumstances, and under police terror, some anarchist comrades endeavoured to make propaganda for the cause of libertarian socialism.

From time to time, with intervals of a few months owing to our slight means, small and mainly duplicated publications have been distributed. Even if the immediate results were not very great, at least we managed to maintain a contact with other comrades.

It was also a satisfaction to show to a relatively larger circle that, even in the time of blackest reaction, libertarian thought was not dead. At meetings comrades took every oppor-

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A demonstration was held at the beginning of the Congress in the largest theatre of Carrara when speakers explained, to the enthusiastic audience gathered there, the significance of this Congress which was to mark the continuation against every kind of oppression, and the inauguration of an organisation devoted to the defence of the interests of the workers and the oppressed.

Amongst the many decisions taken at the Congress some are particularly important from a moral point of view. Having declared its desire to remain faithful to Anarchist principles the Congress went on to express its intention to be most careful as to the methods used by the Anarchist Movement. At the moment when all political parties are trying to build up record memberships, the Anarchists must not be obsessed by this idea of strength in numbers alone. The Anarchist ideal is not merely contained in its aims but in its means of struggle as well and this must be remembered at each step towards its complete realisation.

The discussion on the methods to be used was, at times, rather heated because some delegates wanted the Anarchist movement to become a mass movement able to take its place alongside the big parties. This tendency however was very

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But with the approach of full winter, and increasing shortages of fuel and food, there are signs that the attitude of the Germans will change to opposition, and the Military Government is fully aware of this. Already in the British zone the training of a German police force is well under way. Forty separate police forces have been formed and it is officially estimated that 40,000 policemen distributed among them will be necessary. As an Allied journal puts it, "They are steadily being trained in their local forces, and they may well prove a useful adjunct in the maintenance of law and order in the coming winter". The fears underlying these last few words is evident.

Regarding syndicalist activity it was decided that Anarchists should at present work inside the National Confederation of Labour (equivalent to the T.U. in Britain) while preparing revolutionary-syndicalist groups which will break away from the existing organisation, (which pursue a policy of compromise between owners and workers) as soon as possible.

In the factories and in the fields it is necessary not only to spread the idea of workers' control but also to educate the workers to do it themselves. Technicians and workers should get together to study how their proposals could take shape in practice. In this connection a delegate who is a naval engineer explained to the Congress that he had been working on plans for the reorganisation of the shipbuilding yards under workers' control. It was urged that work of that kind should be carried out in each industry so as to give a more concrete character to the Anarchist movement.

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Everywhere Anarchists try to stimulate activities of this kind. In the Puglie (Southern Italy) peasant comrades try to demonstrate at meetings in their villages where several hundred peasants often gather, that the land belongs to those who work it and that they must refuse to hand over their grain while they starve. Again there have been many courageous examples of resistance to exploitation by direct action.

The Congress therefore decided to intensify the output of leaflets and posters which help workers to become conscious of their strength and of their interests. This propaganda should preferably be on precise and concrete subjects and the question of reconstruction (which is at a standstill) offers many topics for discussion and suggestions.

The Anarchists will take an interest in all the problems which exist in Italy to-day and put forward remedies for the growing misery which

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who had only arrived at anarchy after the events in Spain, and who would therefore have welcomed the opportunity to get in touch with comrades from other countries, for the purpose of discussion. In the meantime the situation has altered. Connections with foreign countries have become gradually better, and we can count on being able to effect some open propaganda work with comparatively small interference. Because of these altered conditions we decided to found a work community, which will make its task to spread the ideas of libertarian socialism by means of propaganda and action.

We do not imagine this task to be a light one. With the confusion and demoralisation of concepts at present reigning, in view of the intellectual terror, it is not easy to explain our ideas objectively and faithfully. However, we think that the low level of the revolutionary movement requires the co-operation of all libertarian-thinking comrades.

The existence of differences of opinions, even of major importance, must not lead to dissolution, provided that the will for co-operation and an objective, tolerant attitude towards the person who thinks differently are present. We intend to formulate our activities in this sense.

In view of our geographical position and our common language, we regard it our duty and task, with the German comrades, to start with the preliminary work of making possible, in due time, the resurrection of the libertarian socialist movement in Germany.

We intend to begin, within a short space of time, the publication of a periodical newspaper, although we shall not be in a position to assure its regular appearance with our own means.

We are a young community and the extent of our activities depends partly on the help which our comrades in other countries can afford us.

Therefore we appeal to all friends with anarchist views and beg them to assist us through their co-operation and financial help.

With comradely greetings,

The Work Community of
Libertarian Socialists,
M. KOECHLIN,
Kleinbrunnigerstrasse, 55,
Basle, Switzerland.

Industrial Notes

Tear Gas Used on Indian Strikers

(Continued from p. 2)

occupation of coal mining ended in a society where human good would be the object of industry, and where means of energy could be brought into use which would supersede an industry that in any case is becoming steadily more difficult owing to the exhaustion of easily accessible seams.

The rejection of the agricultural workers' claim for an increase in their wages from £3. 10. 0 to £4. 10. 0 a week is an almost incredible piece of discrimination against one of the most skilled and arduous trades in the country. Even with the proposed increase, the agricultural workers would still be the worst paid of the large industries, and nowadays, with uniformity of food prices, the cost of living in the country is very little less than it is in the towns. The decision is surprisingly stupid even from the farmers' point of view. The age level of landworkers is high, and the number of young people in the industry will be considerably decreased by the departure of conscientious objectors, land girls and Italian prisoners under their various release schemes. On the present wages it is very unlikely that young men coming out of the army will be attracted back to the land.

The result of the attempt to get 100,000 men to volunteer for landwork training has so far been 838. Now that the direction of men over 30 has been withdrawn, it is very likely that many will leave the land for higher paid jobs either in the country or the towns. Therefore, the general result of this decision is likely to be a hastening of the return to a derelict countryside similar to that between the wars, instead of the desirable stabilisation of conditions as between town and country so that an interchange of population and interests between the two could be established, as a beginning of the adjustment of our top-heavy city civilisation.

Meanwhile, it is significant that the rejection of the farm workers' claims was brought about by the representatives of the Labour government who sat on the board and voted with the employers' representatives.

It is fairly certain that, even if the landworkers do not resort to strikes, there will be a definite decrease in the tempo of work during the coming spring season of work on the land.

Workers on strike at the Burma Oil Company's storage depots at Bombay attempted to occupy the premises a few days ago. Some 1,400 men have been on strike for five weeks over a dispute concerning bonuses. At last the employers put up a notice saying that men who did not return to work immediately would be dismissed. A crowd of 500 strikers gathered, and rushed the gate of the depot. They swept aside the police cordon, and were only prevented from occupying the depot by the extensive use of tear gas by police reinforcements.

Women teachers are demanding an increase in pay to bring about an equalisation of rates between male and female teachers.

Meanwhile an instance of sweating in the teaching profession has come to light in Surrey, where the County Council has advertised for four clerical assistants for schools in Woking to help with correspondence and filling up forms. They require applicants over 21, and are offering the princely wages of £1. 16. 4 for a 48-hour week! This takes a good deal of believing, but it is just an indication of what we can expect when the labour market becomes flooded with surplus unemployed.

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

132 Cheltenham Road, Bristol

HEARTS, NOT HEADS. A. S. Neill	7/6
THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIANITY Thomas Whittaker, M.A.	7/6
THE CHALLENGE OF RED CHINA Gunther Stein	15/-
NEW ROAD Directions in European Art and Letters	10/6
Edited by Fred Marnau.	
THE MOON & SIXPENCE Somerset Maugham	5/-
THE CONSTANT NYMPH Margaret Kennedy	5/-
BRANCH STREET. Marie Paneth	6/-
IMAGES OF THE ARAB WORLD Herbert Howarth & Ibrahim Shakrullah	9/6

"FROM HUNGER TO FAMINE" A Correction

A comrade points out to us an error of fact in the article "From Hunger to Famine" in our issue of December 15th. He quotes Prof. James T. Shotwell as giving the figure of 762,796 for the number of deaths in Germany during the 8 months following the Armistice after the last war. The figure given in the article was two million. Accepting the correction, John Hewetson writes that he quoted from memory, and apologizes for the error.

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Urgent Urgent

As we go to press almost all our subscribers in this country (excluding servicemen) have been sent a circular containing details of their subscriptions to *Freedom*, showing when the are due for renewal. Though at the time of writing it is only a week since these forms were sent out, a very large number of subscribers have returned their forms with the necessary information—and their Postal Orders in payment of further supplies of the paper. The response has been most encouraging, because with one exception those readers who have added comments to the circular have invariably wished *Freedom* a successful New Year. The one exception so amused the editors (who of course would not have been so amused had it not been the exception) that they have asked readers to enjoy the joke with them. The letter from a Mr. Sims will be found on p.3.

We are now using the information supplied to us by subscribers to get our records right up to date and we hope to have all changes of addresses, etc., running smoothly by the next issue and all queries attended to in the course of the next week or so. In the meantime a acknowledgment has been sent to all subscribers who have sent money with their forms.

We ask those subscribers who have not yet dealt with their forms to do so as soon as possible as we are anxious to start the year with our records up to date and we cannot do this without their co-operation. We thank them, in anticipation, and beg them to forgive us for having troubled them with questions which under normal circumstances would never have arisen.

Urgent Urgent

ions in Germany

has been reduced to 300,000. To-day, Hanover is a city of wild-eyed, bewildered people, a city of destruction, crumbling buildings, endless queues, want and depression. Every large German town has the same story to tell.

Birds Of A Feather

The filling of administrative posts in many cases with Germans who had served under the Nazis has already shown that the alleged anti-fascist attitude of the Allies is only a thin veneer. Military Government is, in fact, not anti-fascist but simply anti-German in outlook, and also displays the usual class prejudice of the officer type. Displaced Persons who are working in the Nazi Labour Corps are being provided for in an institutional sort of way. But "displaced" landowners who fled to Germany when Russia annexed the Baltic States, and who are in fact pro-Nazi, are welcomed by the officers, and dinners are given in their honour. These people invariably say in conversation with the British, "You'll have to fight the Russians, you know." They receive more sympathy for having had estates taken away from them, than the ordinary displaced person who has lost everything, and has no prospects at all.

German Soldiers' Homecoming

Men of the Wehrmacht returning mostly from PoW camps in the East, are half starved and dressed in rags. Boots are long since worn out, and their feet are swathed in old clothing. None are really physically fit. Allied Administrative officers say that in normal times 85 per cent. of them would be hospital cases. But such are the conditions of housing and feeding in the big towns that those who possibly can move on must do so. Wehrmacht women and Red Cross nurses come back with the troops and they too are mostly ill. Some claim to have marched as much as 300 miles, and evidence seems to confirm this. Many of them have children with them, and no one can deny the care which these bedraggled mothers have lavished on them throughout the difficult journey.

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Last September the first Congress of the Anarchist Movement for twenty years was held at Carrara. Anarchists had come from all parts of Italy, many had been travelling for several days crowded in trains, in lorries or even riding there on bicycles. The majority of the delegates had been in prison during the whole of the Fascist régime or interned in the islands for political deportees, or in exile, and it was very moving to find that they were ready to carry on the struggle as if the moral and physical sufferings they had undergone were of no importance.

As we approached Carrara we saw posters fixed to the trees and on the walls announcing our Congress. And on the walls of the town itself posters had been put up by the Communists, the Socialists and the Christian Democrats sending greetings to the Congress expressing their confidence in the revolutionary activity of their "Anarchist comrades". The Prefect of the Region also came to greet us and said that he envied the Anarchists who were not mixed up in the political game and were therefore able to remain faithful to their ideals.

The Anarchist Movement in Italy

(From Our Italian Correspondent)

A demonstration was held at the beginning of the Congress in the largest theatre of Carrara when speakers explained, to the enthusiastic audience gathered there, the significance of this Congress which was to mark the continuation against every kind of oppression, and the inauguration of an organisation devoted to the defence of the interests of the workers and the oppressed.

Amongst the many decisions taken at the Congress some are particularly important from a moral point of view. Having declared its desire to remain faithful to Anarchist principles the Congress went on to express its intention to be most careful as to the methods used by the Anarchist Movement. At the moment when all political parties are trying to build up record memberships, the Anarchists must not be obsessed by this idea of strength in numbers alone. The Anarchist ideal is not merely contained in its aims but in its means of struggle as well and this must be remembered at each step towards its complete realisation.

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But with the approach of full winter, and increasing shortages of fuel and food, there are signs that the attitude of the Germans will change to opposition, and the Military Govern-

small and only existed in the great cities like Milan where thousands of workers were anxious to join the Anarchists. These delegates had also been influenced by the Resistance period when Anarchists worked sometimes in close contact with members of other parties and when mutual influences had taken place.

In spite of this, the Congress, composed of over three hundred delegates, was unanimous in declaring that the Anarchist movement must remain independent of all other political parties and withdraw from the Committees of National Liberation in which Anarchists had participated during the Resistance but which were now merely organs of the State. The Congress also decided to oppose the Constituent Assembly and the elections and never to take part in political activity which aims at recruiting members in a demagogic manner.

The success of the Anarchists must be the result of their own efforts. They must in future work in every field, be present everywhere so that the people will feel that they are not merely philosophers but also men of action.

Regarding syndicalist activity it was decided that Anarchists should at present work inside the National Confederation of Labour (equivalent to the T.U. in Britain) while preparing revolutionary-syndicalist groups which will break away from the existing organisation, (which pursues a policy of compromise between owners and workers) as soon as possible.

In the factories and in the fields it is necessary not only to spread the idea of workers' control but also to educate the workers to run them themselves. Technicians and workers should get together to study how their proposals could take shape in practice. In this connection, a delegate who is a naval engineer explained to the Congress that he had been working on plans for the reorganisation of the shipbuilding yards under workers' control. It was urged that work of that kind should be carried out in each industry so as to give a more concrete character to the Anarchist movement.

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every day becomes more acute, and for the shortage of houses which obliges many people to sleep in the open air or in caves.

The Anarchist Movement will also intensify its struggle against the Church as a political body, and against militarism, strongly proclaiming the necessity for Italy to be permanently neutral, opposing war expenditure which already, after peace has been declared, is far greater than expenditure on reconstruction.

In order to carry out this programme of action the Anarchists unanimously agreed to create a single Federation, the F.A.I. (Federazione Anarchica Italiana). It is a federalist organisation and gives complete power to the groups at the base, the Federations being merely executive organs. All the groups agree to adhere to the decisions taken at the Congress.

As far as propaganda is concerned the Congress decided that an attempt should be made to unify the anarchist Press as it was felt that there were too many small newspapers. Preparations are being made to start a daily paper. While the newspapers will deal with propaganda an

internal bulletin will discuss problems dealing more particularly with the movement.

Anarchists are very active in the whole of Italy. They have many weeklies and in the North of Italy practically every town has anarchist headquarters, often situated in the main streets and easily recognisable by the red and black flag hanging outside. At Carrara, for instance, the Anarchists have five premises in different parts of the town.

In all the Federations of Northern Italy there are important youth groups and in some towns, like Forlì, the young people have their own page in the Anarchist paper. They held their own Congress in Carrara and reached decisions similar to those of the Italian Anarchist Federation.

Groups are being formed all over Italy even in remote country districts and some peasant comrades write very good articles and are excellent speakers. The propaganda leaflets and manifestoes of the F.A.I. give an impression of strength.

There was a danger in Italy that after the long period of dictatorship which blacked out the mind, the Anarchist movement which was reborn in strength would deviate from its original principles. It is obvious that the thousands of people who have joined the movement in Milan, the hundreds of young people who come to us are not anarchists in the complete sense of the word. They have often come to us because they are disgusted by other parties or because they are just rebels. But the important thing is that all the comrades openly admit this and are very willing to do their best to politically

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internal bulletin will discuss problems dealing more particularly with the movement.

Anarchists are very active in the whole of Italy. They have many weeklies and in the North of Italy practically every town has anarchist headquarters, often situated in the main streets and easily recognisable by the red and black flag hanging outside. At Carrara, for instance, the Anarchists have five premises in different parts of the town.

In all the Federations of Northern Italy there are important youth groups and in some towns, like Forlì, the young people have their own page in the Anarchist paper. They held their own Congress in Carrara and reached decisions similar to those of the Italian Anarchist Federation.

Groups are being formed all over Italy even in remote country districts and some peasant comrades write very good articles and are excellent speakers. The propaganda leaflets and manifestoes of the F.A.I. give an impression of strength.

There was a danger in Italy that after the long period of dictatorship which blacked out the mind, the Anarchist movement which was reborn in strength would deviate from its original principles. It is obvious that the thousands of people who have joined the movement in Milan, the hundreds of young people who come to us are not anarchists in the complete sense of the word. They have often come to us because they are disgusted by other parties or because they are just rebels. But the important thing is that all the comrades openly admit this and are very willing to do their best to politically educate the newcomers. The complete refusal by the whole movement to become a political party, and the enthusiasm with which the comrades have expressed their belief in the moral character of Anarchism, lead one to hope that the Anarchist Movement will increase in influence and will deal more with day to day problems while still not renouncing its principles.

The Anarchist Movement in Italy has tremendous possibilities. It would be false to conclude from all that has been written that the Anarchists represent a real power. For the time being, only official parties have a real say in the life of the country. The Communist Party still exploits the prestige given to it by Fascism which considered it its sole enemy. The youth of Italy has easily passed from the Fascist Party to the Communist Party and works in it with the same enthusiasm. But for the greater part people prefer not to think, they are disillusioned by politics; the workers prefer not to lose their time at trade union meetings where problems are always side-tracked.

If the Carrara Congress and the feverish activity, the numerous groups, the many publications, and the regional congresses which have followed that of Carrara have given everyone an impression of strength; if there are many people in Italy who have lost their faith in parties and governments, one must nevertheless not forget that here, as elsewhere, international tension, the rebirth of fascism, the indifference of a people exhausted by material difficulties, are an ever-present menace to our movement.

Renewed Activity in Switzerland

DEAR FRIENDS,

We would like to let you know that we have formed in Switzerland a "Work Community of Libertarian Socialists".

Already during the war, under the most unfavourable psychological circumstances, and under police terror, some anarchist comrades endeavoured to make propaganda for the cause of libertarian socialism.

From time to time, with intervals of a few months owing to our slight means, small and mainly duplicated publications have been distributed. Even if the immediate results were not very great, at least we managed to maintain a contact with other comrades.

It was also a satisfaction to show to a relatively larger circle that, even in the time of blackest reaction, libertarian thought was not dead. At meetings comrades took every oppor-

tunity to comment upon events in an anarchist manner.

With the French collapse any contact with other countries became impossible, as Switzerland was now surrounded entirely by fascist powers. This absolute isolation was all the more frustrating as a large section of our Work Community was composed of young comrades who had only arrived at anarchism after the events in Spain, and who would therefore have welcomed the opportunity to get in touch with comrades from other countries, for the purpose of discussion. In the meantime the situation has altered. Connections with foreign countries have become gradually better, and we can count on being able to effect some open propaganda work with comparatively small interference. Because of these altered conditions we decided to found a work community, which will make its task to spread the ideas of libertarian socialism by means of propaganda and action.

Unsent Unsent

The Big Three Meeting

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Indian Strikers

The result of the attempt to get 100,000 men to volunteer for landwork training has so far been 838. Now that the direction of men over 30 has been withdrawn, it is very likely that many will leave the land for higher paid jobs either in the country or the towns. Therefore, the general result of this decision is likely to be a hastening of the return to a derelict countryside similar to that between the wars, instead of the desirable stabilisation of conditions as between town and country so that an interchange of population and interests between the two could be established, as a beginning of the adjustment of our top-heavy city civilisation.

Meanwhile, it is significant that the rejection of the farm workers' claims was brought about by the representatives of the Labour government who sat on the board and voted with the employers' representatives.

It is fairly certain that, even if the landworkers do not resort to strikes, there will be a definite decrease in the tempo of work during the coming spring season of work on the land.

Workers on strike at the Burma Oil Company's storage depots at Bombay attempted to occupy the premises a few days ago. Some 1,400 men have been on strike for five weeks over a dispute concerning bonuses. At last the employers put up a notice saying that men who did not return to work immediately would be dismissed. A crowd of 500 strikers gathered, and rushed the gate of the depot. They swept aside the police cordon, and were only prevented from occupying the depot by the extensive use of tear gas by police reinforcements.

Women teachers are demanding an increase in pay to bring about an equalisation of rates between male and female teachers.

Meanwhile an instance of sweating in the teaching profession has come to light in Surrey, where the County Council has advertised for four clerical assistants for schools in Woking to help with correspondence and filling up forms. They require applicants over 21, and are offering the princely wages of £1. 16. 4 for a 48-hour week! This takes a good deal of believing, but it is just an indication of what we can expect when the labour market becomes flooded with surplus unemployed.

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We do not imagine this task to be a light one. With the confusion and demoralisation of concepts at present reigning, in view of the intellectual terror, it is not easy to explain our ideas objectively and faithfully. However, we think that the low level of the revolutionary movement requires the co-operation of all libertarian-thinking comrades.

The existence of differences of opinions, even of major importance, must not lead to dissolution, provided that the will for co-operation and an objective, tolerant attitude towards the person who thinks differently are present. We intend to formulate our activities in this sense.

In view of our geographical position and our common language, we regard it our duty and task, with the German comrades, to start with the preliminary work of making possible, in due time, the resurrection of the libertarian socialist movement in Germany.

We intend to begin, within a short space of time, the publication of a periodical newspaper, although we shall not be in a position to assure its regular appearance with our own means.

We are a young community and the extent of our activities depends partly on the help which our comrades in other countries can afford us.

Therefore we appeal to all friends with anarchist views and beg them to assist us through their co-operation and financial help.

With comradely greetings,

The Work Community of
Libertarian Socialists,
M. KOECHLIN,
Kleinbrunnigerstrasse, 55,
Basle, Switzerland.

"FROM HUNGER TO FAMINE"

A Correction

A comrade points out to us an error of fact in the article "From Hunger to Famine" in our issue of December 15th. He quotes Prof. James T. Shotwell as giving the figure of 762,796 for the number of deaths in Germany during the 8 months following the Armistice after the last war. The figure given in the article was two million. Accepting the correction, John Hewetson writes that he quoted from memory, and apologizes for the error.

of their interests. This propaganda should preferably be on precise and concrete subjects and the question of reconstruction (which is at a standstill) offers many topics for discussion and suggestions.

The Anarchists will take an interest in all the problems which exist in Italy to-day and put forward remedies for the growing misery which

Urgent Urgent

As we go to press almost all our subscribers in this country (excluding servicemen) have been sent a circular containing details of their subscriptions to *Freedom*, showing when they are due for renewal. Though at the time of writing it is only a week since these forms were sent out, a very large number of subscribers have returned their forms with the necessary information—and their Postal Orders in payment of further supplies of the paper. The response has been most encouraging, because with one exception those readers who have added comments to the circular have invariably wished *Freedom* a successful New Year. The one exception so amused the editors (who of course would not have been so amused had it not been the exception) that they have asked readers to enjoy the joke with them. The letter from a Mr. Sims will be found on p.3.

We are now using the information supplied to us by subscribers to get our records right up to date and we hope to have all changes of addresses, etc., running smoothly by the next issue and all queries attended to in the course of the next week or so. In the meantime an acknowledgment has been sent to all subscribers who have sent money with their forms.

We ask those subscribers who have not yet dealt with their forms to do so as soon as possible as we are anxious to start the year with our records up to date and we cannot do this without their co-operation. We thank them, in anticipation, and beg them to forgive us for having troubled them with questions which under normal circumstances would never have arisen.

Urgent Urgent

have followed that of Carrara have given everyone an impression of strength; if there are many people in Italy who have lost their faith in parties and governments, one must nevertheless not forget that here, as elsewhere, international tension, the rebirth of fascism, the indifference of a people exhausted by material difficulties, are an ever-present menace to our movement.

The Big Three Meeting

Continued from page 1

claring that they are ready to make war. Needless to say that the Turks have consulted the other Big Two beforehand.

On some questions however, complete agreement has been reached in Moscow as, for example, regarding the Chinese Civil War. The Yen'an Communists have been abandoned by Stalin even before the Americans attacked them. Already last August there had been the Moscow-Chunking pact by which Stalin recognised the authority of Chang Kai Shek as the central government of China. Later an agreement took place between Chunking and the Soviet authorities according to which Russian troops would occupy Manchuria till the arrival of Chang Kai Shek's troops, to protect it, in fact, *against* the Communists. Fellow-travellers should be careful not to condemn too violently the attitude of the Americans in China. There was a time when Stalin was playing Yen'an against Chungking but he does not seem to need to do this any longer. Apparently Stalin has found ground for agreement with Chang Kai Shek the specialist in bloody exterminations of revolutions.

After the serious "discussions" they had at Moscow, American, British and Russian statesmen will not be able to take a nice rest at this puppet-show which is called the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is not difficult to foresee that nothing will be done in London. The debates will be open to the Press, of course, but only because they will be without any interest or importance.

KATHERINE WARREN.

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